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Pro-Slavery.

THE ONLY NATIONAL PARTY.

It is worth while to keep in view the following summary of facts and votes to show which is, and has been, the National party of the Union on which alone the South can rely upon questions peculiarly affecting her rights. We have given them repeatedly, in editorials and communications, in forms more or less condensed. But it is not amiss to recall them frequently to the attention of the candid seeker after truth among our readers. In a debate between Ex-Gov. Neil S. Brown, Know-Nothing, and Mr. Harris, Democrat, at Murfreesborough, Tenn., which took place some weeks since, Mr. Harris furnished the following facts from the record. We quote from the Nashville *Union and American:*

He said that in 1835, a bill for the admission of Florida into the Union as a State was introduced into Congress. The cry was raised by a portion of Northern men against the admission of any more slave States. He had carefully and correctly examined the vote on the question of her admission, and he found the result in the House to be as follows:

Northern Democrats, yeas 58; nays 4.
All other Northern men, yeas 00; nays 37.
In the Senate:
Northern Democrats, yeas 12; nays 00.
All other Northern men, yeas 00; nays 9.

Thus it will be seen that if her admission as a slave State had depended solely upon Northern Democrats, she would have been triumphantly received. But, if it had depended upon any or all other parties North, she would have been indignantly rejected.

Again: in 1845, a bill was passed for the acquisition of more slave States. Upon examining the vote on the bill in the House, he found it to stand as follows:

Northern Democrats, yeas 70; nays 3.
All other Northern men, yeas 00; nays 46.

Thus it will appear that had the acquisition and admission of Texas, with her kindred blood and rich domain, been left alone to the Northern Democrats, it would have been triumphantly carried. Of all other parties North, every solitary vote was cast against it.

Mr. H. referred to the various votes upon petitions for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, and also upon the Wilmot Proviso, by which the North sought to interdict slavery in any of the newly-acquired Mexican territory, a measure which crushed out all opposition at the North, and which was supported by such champions as Mr. Fillmore, and those of his subsequent Cabinet officers, viz: Daniel Webster, Thomas Corwin and Nathan K. Hall, and in each instance he showed that the Northern Democracy had stood true to the South and to the Constitution, and were necessary to their preservation, while all other parties stood in one solid phalanx against us.

Coming on down to the Compromise of 1850, he showed the vote in the House upon the separate measures embraced in that Compromise to be as follows:

On the Texas Boundary bill—
Northern Democrats—yeas 32, nays 12.
All other parties North—yeas 21, nays 55.
On the Utah bill—
Northern Democrats—yeas 31, nays 12.
All others North—yeas 11, nays 58.
On the Fugitive Slave Bill—
Northern Democrats—yeas 28, nays 14.
All other parties North—yeas 3, nays 62.
From the South every man of all parties voted yea.

Thus, said Mr. H., it will be again seen that if the Compromise measures of 1850, for the simple approval of which so much credit has been given to Mr. Fillmore, had been left solely to Northern Democrats, they would all have passed. But left to any other party North, they would have been defeated.

Again: Upon the Kansas-Nebraska bill of 1854, carrying out the principles of the Compromise of 1850, the vote indicated the same condition of soundness and unsoundness at the North. The vote stood, upon the passage of the bill in the House, thus:

Northern Democrats, yeas 45—nays 38.
All other parties, North, yeas 00—nays 54.
In the Senate—
Northern Democrats, yeas 14—nays 4.
All others, North, yeas 00—nays 7.

But, said Mr. H., the most significant of all votes, is the most recent one in the House upon the proposition to receive Kansas into the Union upon the Abolition Topeka Constitution, gotten up by the rebels and outlaws of Kansas, in violation of all law and order. Upon the bill recently introduced by the Abolitionists to admit her as a free State under that Constitution, we have the following significant vote:

Northern Know-Nothings, yeas 79—nays 5.
Southern Know-Nothings, yeas 00—nays 21.

The Democrats, North and South, voted against it in solid mass. Thus, if left to Northern Know-Nothings, Kansas would have been received as a free State under the illegal and criminal proceedings of Topeka. If left to Northern Democrats, such a proposition would have been indignantly rejected.—*Augusta (Ga.) Constitutionalist.*

LETTER OF THE HON. CHARLES J. JENKINS.

It is with no ordinary pleasure that we spread before our readers and the public, this morning, the letter of the Hon. Charles J. Jenkins to Dr. Willis Willingham, upon the Presidential question. Now, that the country is agitated to its centre, by a great issue of fearful magnitude—one which involves the most sacred constitutional rights of the slaveholding States, and threatens the existence of the Union—it is peculiarly appropriate that patriotic men, of statesmanship and influence, should speak out for their preservation. The long public services of Mr. Jenkins, his acknowledged abilities, disinterested patriotism, loftiness and purity of character, added to the universal esteem in which, as a man and citizen, he has ever been held by his fellow citizens of all parties, give no ordinary weight to his opinions in a fearful crisis like the present. Differing with him as we do in some of the views put forth in this letter, we feel no disposition to mar, with criticism, the gratification which our readers will generally experience in its perusal. It is patriotism to love one's country with the whole heart, to experience the highest rapture at its prosperity, the deepest anguish in its reverses. We honour Mr. Jenkins for exhibiting, as he does, this devotion to the Union, and in a contest of sections, a similar devotion to the endangered rights of the South. Nothing less than this could be expected from the author of the "Georgia platform." It is no part of our object to review the contents of this able letter. It speaks for itself. It shows that the author has observed closely the startling progress of events. It will be read with deep and universal attention, and cannot fail to influence the judgments of thousands by its words of wisdom and its impregnable truths.—*Augusta (Ga.) Constitutionalist.*

We (STANDARD) quote a paragraph from the letter here referred to:

"This is no time to struggle for party ascendency. *Now*, we must look to the country—its continuing prosperity and greatness *in* the Union, or its utter ruin *out* of it. We must have a President who will uphold the Constitution *now*, as we interpret it, or all is lost. *Let our inquiry then be, first, who of the candidates will stand firmly by us;* and secondly, who of those that will, has the fairest prospect of success. Self-preservation demands, that, in this crisis, we vote with reference to the great issue, and to the availability of the candidates in the election. Let us save the Union now, through the instrumentality of the Democracy, if need be, and oppose to them hereafter, when occasion shall require, the same indomitable spirit they have encountered in us heretofore. They who admit the peril and then refuse the sacrifice to avert it, are in danger of merging the patriot in the partisan. Now, the better to estimate the peril and the chances of averting it, let us consider the prospects of the several candidates. Believing, as I conscientiously do, *that should Mr. Fremont succeed, the Union will not survive his administration*, I assume that it is a cardinal object to secure the election of a safe man *by the people.* Heaven forfend that the destinies of this great country should be committed to the House of Representatives, as now constituted. Does any Southern man feel differently, let him cast his eye upon the Speaker's chair—let him contemplate the attitude of that body at this moment, and be warned. Does he with all the lights before him, desire to send the election to that body in the forlorn hope of thus securing the election of his party's candidate, for *him*, I have no argument. "*He is joined unto his idols.*"

INDIGNATION MEETING IN VIRGINIA.

THE DOCTRINES OF JEFFERSON DENOUNCED AS TREASONABLE—JOHN C. UNDERWOOD OSTRACISED.

From The Winchester Virginian, Aug. 5, 1856.

INDIGNATION MEETING IN CLARKE. — Pursuant to adjournment a large and respectable meeting of the citizens of Clarke County, Virginia, was held at the Court House on Saturday, July 26, 1856, to take action in regard to John C. Underwood's course in the recent "Republican Convention" at Philadelphia.

On motion of Dr. Cyrus McCormick, Dr. O. R. Funsten was called to the Chair, and John D. Richardson and John Morgan appointed Secretaries.

On motion the number of the Committee on Resolutions appointed at the meeting held on the 12th inst., was raised to sixteen, and the following persons appointed said committee, viz.: Province McCormick, Thomas F. Nelson, George W. Bradfield, Ed. W. Massie, Dr. John F. Fantleroy, Buckner Ashby, Charles E. Kimball, David H. McGuire, Thomas McCormick, William Taylor, John N. Collier, Henson Elliott, Col. Treadwell Smith, and E. L. Mantor.

After a brief consultation, the Committee, through Province McCormick, Esq., their Chairman, made the following report:

"The Committee respectfully submit the following statement and resolutions:

"That John C. Underwood, late of the County of Clarke, did enter into, and procure himself to be recorded, at the Convention recently held in Philadelphia called the 'Republican Convention,' as 'a delegate from the State of Virginia,' and that in so doing and acting he was guilty of an *atrocious fraud*, not having the authority or sanction of even a single individual anywhere, so far as we can ascertain, after diligent inquiry—certainly none from a citizen of the County of Clarke—to attend the Convention in any capacity.

"That he was one of the 'committee' which reported the 'platform' adopted by the said Convention, and, at the close of their proceedings, uttered the fanatical speech which has been published in many of the public prints.

"Had he said and done, *on the soil of Virginia*, what he is thus reported to have said and done, surrounded by the circumstances preceding and attending that Convention, the Committee are advised that he would have earned and richly merited a felon's reward.

"Little is known of the early history of this *miscreant.* He was bred and born in the State of New York; emigrated, some years ago, to Virginia, and taught school in a private family. After an absence of a year or so, probably from his native State, it is said he returned to it, but again came back to Virginia, married into the family where he taught, and settled there temporarily.

"Some five or six years ago, being then a resident of Herkimer, New York, he purchased a farm in the County of Clarke, lying in the Blue Ridge Mountain—a spot well suited for the purposes of the *conspirator.* It is known that (since he settled in Clarke) he has been in correspondence with one or more of the Abolition prints of the North, and has been suspected, with much reason, of other disreputable practices. Judging the man by his antecedents—his conduct in going to and attending the Convention referred to, the company in which he is found, the complexion of that company, or some of them—it is the opinion of the Committee that he should not be permitted to return to the Commonwealth of Virginia *to reside.* He stands guilty of *moral treason*, at the least, if not *legal treason* against the Commonwealth—and is, beyond all doubt, dangerous *to the peace, the good order,* and *well being of her civil society.*

"Be it therefore resolved:

"1 That the institution of slavery, as it exists in Virginia, is entirely in accordance with the feelings of our citizens, that we have no respect for the sickly, morbid sentiment, which holds slavery to be a 'moral evil,' or for the Anti-Slavery propagators of such sentiments; and it is high time for Virginia to discountenance all such teachers, whether in our pulpits, our schoolhouses or elsewhere.

"2. That the citizens of the county of Clarke *cannot* and *will not* longer tolerate the presence of John C. Underwood among them *as a citizen or resident;* and that if he dare return to *reside*, we will take steps to eject him, '*peaceably* if *we can, forcibly if we must.*'

"3. That, inasmuch as the whereabouts of the said Under wood is not known, and personal service cannot be made upon him, the proceedings of this meeting be published in one or more newspapers having the most extensive circulation in the North, whither it is supposed he has gone."

The said report and resolutions were unanimously adopted by the meeting.

On motion it was ordered that the proceedings be signed by the Chairman and Secretaries, and published by the papers of the Congressional district and Richmond.

On motion the meeting adjourned.

O. R. FUSTEN, Chairman.

JNO. D RICHARDSON, JOHN MORGAN, } Secretaries.

THE RIGHT SPIRIT.

From The Atlanta (Ga.) Intelligencer.

It is well known that many of the most bitter Abolitionists in New York are men who are daily fattening on the richness of Southern trade. Frequently, however, these political harpies get taken down in a manner to make them feel their true position, if they ever do feel anything, by a sharp application to that most sensitive part, the pocket nerve. A case in point happened a short time since, in which one of our citizens bore a part, who, by the way, has authorized us to use the names of the parties. Wm. F. Herring, of the responsible firm of Wm. Herring & Co., of this place, being in New York very recently for the purpose of purchasing their Fall and Winter supply, was on the eve of making a bill of eight or ten thousand dollars, at the establishment of Taylor, Dixon, Graves & Co., 23 and 25 Dey street. He had selected a small portion of articles, one or two hundred dollars worth, when, it being the close of the day, he returned to his hotel, intending to complete his purchase the next morning. During the night, however, he learned by the merest accident that the members of the firm were out and out Abolitionists, going in head and heels for Fremont. He returned in the morning—called for the bill of articles already selected, and declined trading any further with that house, although he had heretofore been a regular customer of theirs. Being pressed for a reason for his sudden determination, he politely informed them that while he had no disposition to require them to "sell their principles" as well as their goods, he yet preferred to benefit by his trade the friends rather than the enemies of his section, and should hereafter make his purchases of those dealers, if he could find any such, who had not enlisted in the war upon the South. This caused quite a flutter in the house, and during the day different members of the firm were trotting back and forth between the store and the St. Nicholas, but to no purpose.

Some other Southern merchants who were at the hotel at the time intending to purchase at the same house, learning the circumstances, directed their trade elsewhere. If this kind of discrimination were more frequently made, we would hear much less of New York merchants urging on the abolition crusade. Let Southern purchasers know who are their friends and who their enemies in the commercial emporium, and there will follow many changes of patronage similar to the above.

DISSOLUTION OF THE UNION INEVITABLE.

SENATOR SLIDELL has addressed a long letter to the Louisiana Central Committee, which closes as follows:

"But, while thus confident of the success of our ticket, we should not shrink from contemplating the possible contingency of the election of Fremont, and should prepare ourselves for such a result. No one can value more highly than I do the innumerable advantages and blessings of the Union; but it must be Union under the Constitution—the Union of States, equally sovereign, with equal participation in every right and privilege.

"It is but within the last two years that I have permitted myself to think of the possibility of its dissolution; and, until the nomination of Fremont, I have looked at it but in the distant future. Now, it presents itself as a question which we may be called upon to decide, in all its dread reality, in a few short months. Should Fremont be elected, I shall be satisfied that a majority of the people of the free States entertain towards us feelings that render the idea of living with them on terms of equality hopeless.

"The issues presented by his nomination, the antecedents of those who brought him forward, the opinions and purposes avowed by every speaker at every meeting of his party, are such that no Southern man would dare to incur the infamy and odium of accepting office under him. The whole machine of government in the Southern States must be stopped, unless Northern men can be found bold enough to come among us and undertake the collection of the revenue, and the execution of the laws of a Government from which we shall be practically excluded.

Each aggression on our rights, if submitted to, will lead to new and more aggravated attacks, and we shall, after a protracted struggle, at last be obliged to choose between the alternatives of unqualified vassalage or separation. But, in such a struggle, not only will the proud spirit that now animates us have been impaired, but we will have lost allies that an earlier, open resistance would have rallied to our support. I do not hesitate to declare that, if Fremont be elected, the Union cannot and ought not to be preserved.

"What particular course should be pursued I am not now prepared to say. In so fearful a contingency, I should be unwilling to act without some definite manifestation of the will of my State. This can only be given through the Legislature, or, if time allowed, by a Convention of the people, called by the Legislature. Whatever be the mandate of Louisiana, I shall be prepared to carry it out in letter and in spirit. JOHN SLIDELL.

"JOHN S. HOLT, Esq., Corresponding Secretary Louisiana State Central Committee, New Orleans."

THE SCHOOL REQUIRED TO SUPPORT SLAVERY.

From The Richmond Inquirer (Buchanan), Aug. 29, 1856.

EVERY school and college in the South should teach that SLAVE SOCIETY IS THE COMMON, NATURAL, RIGHTFUL AND NORMAL STATE OF SOCIETY. Any doctrine short of this contains abolition in the germ, for, if it be not the rightful and natural form of society, it cannot last, and we should prepare for its gradual but ultimate abolition. They should also teach that no other form of society is, in the general, right or expedient. There are exceptional cases, such as desert or mountainous countries, where the small patches of fertile land are inadequate to support a larger family than husband, wife and children—such as Lapland, Sweden, Norway, Switzerland and parts of Arabia—such, also, as New England, and Eastern New York, and Eastern Pennsylvania, which, though admirably adapted for commerce, manufactures and fishing, are little fitted for farming or grazing. Free men are required in the former pursuits—slaves in the latter. Hence, NEGRO SLAVERY IS FOUND TO BE THE BEST FORM OF SLAVERY.

But our schools should also teach that the slaves should be of a different race or nation from the masters, and the wider the distinction the better, as in such case the slave is less apt to feel degraded, or wish to assert his freedom and equality.

To teach such doctrines we must have Southern teachers and Southern school-books. It is from the school that public opinion proceeds, and the schools should be set right.

NO TEACHER SHOULD BE EMPLOYED IN A PRIVATE FAMILY OR PUBLIC SCHOOLS AT THE SOUTH, WHO IS NOT READY TO TEACH THESE DOCTRINES. Parents, trustees and visitors should look to this thing.

WHIP THEM IN!

From The South Side (Va.), Democrat, Aug. 29.

A STRANGE POSITION.—We regret that there is a newspaper in Virginia which holds such language as the following:

"The election of Fremont, whatever it may lead to, certainly will not in itself be a violation of the Constitution; nor are we to take it conclusively for granted that the Constitution must needs suffer violence under his administration. It will be time enough for the most ultra Secessionists and Disunionists at the South to call out for the extreme measures when the exigency shall arise."

The Norfolk *Herald* is responsible for this sentiment. We think it will not increase its circulation, or render itself more popular in the estimation of its readers by making such an avowal. The *Herald* must know and believe that the South will never submit to be governed by the Black Republican party. This paper has already been quoted by the New York *Evening Post* as talking "sensibly" in relation to the election of Fremont, and we hope, for the sake of Virginia and the whole South, that it may be more guarded about this matter. We have no idea that the venerable editor of the Norfolk *Herald* desires or expects the election of such a fellow as Fremont. But we submit that such language as the above, is not calculated to lessen his chances.

GOV. WISE BADLY SCARED—GREAT REDUCTION IN NIGGERS.—The following letter from Governor Wise has been generously given to the public through Col. Forney's Philadelphia organ:

RICHMOND, Va., Sept. 6, 1856.

On my return from a short absence I found yours of the 26th ult., asking my opinion on the question: "Would the election of Fremont to the Presidency bring about a dissolution of the Union?" My answer is, that the very spirit of sectionalism which runs such a mere adventurer as he is, in every sense has engendered so much envy, hatred and malice between various sections and factions of our people, as to create a wish in the minds of many so strong for a dissolution of our blessed Union, that to tell them his election would bring that lamentable event about, would make some of his bitterest opponents vote for his election for the very purpose of effecting that execrable end. This, above everything else, shows the wrong and mischief of nominating such a man by such a party as that called Black Republicans. His election would bring about the dissolution of the American confederacy of States inevitably. Why? For the reason that if New York, Pennsylvania and Ohio were slaveholding States, and Canada were to assail them with half the violence and "all uncharitableness" which Black Republicans are assaulting us with, there would be a public war in thirty days by every patriot's time-piece. Whether the present state of peaceful revolution, of warlike brotherhood, of confederated antagonisms, of shake-hand enmity, of sectional union, of united enemies, shall continue, depends precisely upon the issue whether Black Republicanism is strong enough to select John C. Fremont, with all the demon-isms at his heels. You may do what you please with this letter. HENRY A. WISE.

Selections.

SLAVERY AND FREEDOM CONTRASTED.

I FEAR you do not yet quite understand the difference between the Regressive Force of Slavery at the South, and the Progressive Force of Freedom at the North. Therefore, to see in noonday light the effect of each on the present Welfare and the future Progress of a people, compare an old typical slave State with an old typical free State, and then compare a new slave State with a new free State.

1. South Carolina contains 29,385 square miles of land; Connecticut, 4,674. In 1850, South Carolina had 668,507 inhabitants, whereof 283,523 were free, and 384,984 slaves; while Connecticut had 370,792 inhabitants, all free.

The Government value of all the land in South Carolina was $5.08 an acre; in Connecticut it was $30.50 the acre. All the farms in South Carolina contained 16,217,700 acres, and were worth $82,431,684; while the farms of Connecticut were worth $72,726,422, though they contained only 2,383,879 acres. Thus slavery and freedom affect the *value of land* in the old States.

In 1850, South Carolina had 340 miles of railroad; Connecticut 547, on a territory equal to one-sixth of South Carolina. In 1855, South Carolina had $11,500,000 in railroads; Connecticut had then $20,000,000.

The shipping of South Carolina amounts to 36,000 tons; in Connecticut, to 125,000, though she is not advantageously situated for navigation.

The value of the real personal property in South Carolina, in 1850, was estimated by the Federal Government at $288,257,694. This includes the value of all slaves, who, at $400 apiece, amount to $153,993,600. Subtracting this sum, which is neither property in *land* nor *things*, but wholly *unreal* and fictitious, there remains $134,264,094 as the entire property of the great slave State; while the total valuation of the land and things in Connecticut, in 1850, was $155,707,980. In other words, in South Carolina, 670,000 persons, with 30,000 square miles of land, are worth $134,000,000; while in Connecticut, 370,000 men, with only 4,600 square miles of land, are worth $156,000,000. Thus do slavery and freedom affect the *general wealth* of the people in the old States.

In 1850, South Carolina had 365,026 persons under twenty years of age; her whole number of pupils, at schools, academies and colleges, was 40,373. Connecticut had only 157,146 persons of that age, but 83,697 at school and college. Will you say it is of no consequence whether the *coloured child* is educated or not? Then remember that South Carolina had 149,322 white children, and only sent 40,373 of them to school at all in that year; while, out of 153,862 white children, Connecticut gave 82,433 a permanent place in her noble schools.

In South Carolina, there are but 129,350 free persons over twenty years of age; and of these, 16,564 are unable to read the word Heaven. So, in all that great and Democratic State, there are only 112,786 persons over twenty, who know their A B C's; while in Connecticut there are 213,662 persons over twenty; and, of all that number, only 5,306 are illiterate, and of them 4,013 are foreigners. But, of all the 16,564 *ignoramuses* of South Carolina, only 104 were born out of that State.

Out of 365,026 persons over twenty, South Carolina has only 112,786 who can read their primer; while, out of 213,662, Connecticut has 208,356 who can read and write. South Carolina can boast more than 250,000 native adults who cannot write or read the name of their God—a noble army of martyrs, a cloud of witnesses to its peculiar institution; while poor Connecticut has only 1,293 native adults unable to read their Holy Bible.

Such is the effect of slavery and freedom on *education* in the old States. The Southern politician was right: "Free society is a failure!"

2. Now compare two new States of about the same age. Arkansas was admitted into the Union in 1836, Michigan 1837.

Arkansas contains 52,198 square miles, and 209,807 inhabitants, of whom 151,746 are free, and 58,161 are slaves. Michigan contains 56,243 square miles, and was entered for settlement later than her sister, but contains 397,654 persons, all free.

In Arkansas the land is valued at $5.88 the acre; and, in Michigan, at $11.83. The slave State has 781,531 acres of improved land; and Michigan 1,929,110. The farms of Arkansas are worth $15,265,245; and those of Michigan, $51,872,446. Thus slavery and freedom affect the *value of land* in the new States.

Michigan had (in 1855) 699 miles of railroad, which had cost $19,000,000. Arkansas had paid nothing for railroads. The total valuation of Arkansas, in 1850, was $39,871,025; the value of the slaves, $23,264,400, was included. Deducting that, there remains but $16,576,625, as the entire worth of Arkansas; while Michigan has property to the amount of $59,787,255. Thus slavery and freedom affect the *value of property* in the new States.

In 1850, Arkansas had 115,023 children under twenty, whereof 11,050 were in schools, academies, or colleges; while Michigan had 211,969, of whom 112,382 were at school, academy, or college. Or, to omit the coloured population, Arkansas had 97,402 white persons under twenty, and only 11,050 attending school; while, of 210,831 whites of that age in Michigan 112,175 were at school or college. Last year, Michigan had 132,234 scholars in her public common schools. In 1850, Arkansas contained 64,787 whites over twenty—but 16,935 of these were unable to read and write; while out of 184,240 of that age in Michigan, only 8,281 were thus ignorant—of these 2,009 were foreigners; while, of the 16,935 illiterate persons of Arkansas, only 37 were born out of that State. The slave State had only 47,852 persons over twenty who could read a word; while the free State had 175,959. Michigan had 107,943 volumes in "libraries other than private," and Arkansas 420 volumes. Thus slavery and freedom affect *the education of the people* in the new States.

Now, see the effect of slavery and freedom on Property and Education in their respective neighbourhoods. I take examples from the States of Missouri and Virginia, kindly furnished by an ingenious and noble-hearted man.

1. In the twelve Counties of Missouri which border on slaveholding Arkansas, there are 20,982 free white persons, occupying 75,360 acres of improved land, valued at $13 an acre, or $989,932; while in the ten Counties of Missouri bordering on Iowa, a free State, though less attractive in soil and situation, there are 26,890 free white persons, with 123,030 acres of improved land, worth $19 an acre, or $2,379,795. Thus the *neighbourhood of slavery retards the development of property.*

In those ten Northern Counties bordering on freedom, there were 2,329 scholars in the public schools; while in the twelve Southern, bordering on Arkansas, there were only 339. Thus *the neighbourhood of slavery affects the development of education.*

2. Compare the Northern with the Southern Counties of Virginia, and you will find the same result. Monongahela and Preston Counties, in Virginia, bordering on free Pennsylvania, contain 122,444 acres of improved land, valued at $21 an acre, or $2,784,137 in all, are occupied by 24,095 persons, whereof 263 only are slaves; and there are 1,747 children in the public chools; while in the corresponding Counties of Patrick and Henry, touching on North Carolina, contain but 99,731 acres of improved land, worth only $15 an acre, or $1,554,841 in all; are occupied by 18,481 inhabitants, 5,664 of them slaves; and have only 961 children at school. But cross the borders, and note the change; the adjacent Counties of North Carolina, Rockingham and Stokes contain 103,784 acres of improved land, worth $14 an acre, or $1,517,520; 23,701 persons, of whom 7,122 are slaves; and have only 2,050 pupils at school or college; while Fayette and Green Counties, in Pennsylvania, adjacent to the part of Virginia above spoken of, contain 297,005 acres of improved land, valued at $49 an acre, or $7,618,919; 61,248 persons, all free; and 12,998 pupils at the common schools.

The South has numerous natural advantages over the North—a better soil, a more genial climate, the privilege of producing those tropical plants now deemed indispensable to civilization. Of $193,000,000 of exports last year, $93,000,000 were of Southern cotton and tobacco. Yet such is her foolish and wicked system, that, while the North continually increases in riches, the South becomes continually poorer and poorer in comparison. Boston alone could buy up two States like South Carolina, and still have thirteen millions of dollars to spare. Three hundred years ago, Spain monopolized this continent; she exploitered Mexico, Peru, the island of the Gulf; all the gold of the New World came to her hand. Where is it now? Spain is poorer than Italy. Is here no lesson for South Carolina and Virginia?—"*The Great Battle between Slavery and Freedom*" (*Theodore Parker*).

AN ENGLISH VIEW OF AMERICAN POLITICS.

From The London Times, August 27.

REPORT, according to our American correspondent, is beginning to favour Col. Fremont, and, from having been all on the side of the Democratic party, is now turning round and smiling on the chances of the Republican candidate. One result of this turn of the wheel of electioneering rumour is curious. The value of real estate at Washington, says our correspondent, has fallen. The mere chance of the election of a Republican, pledged to the non-extension of slavery, is immediately felt as an actual pecuniary danger in the South, and tells upon the existing value of land; so sensitive and quick is the pulse of the American purse, and so immediate and direct is the operation of the slavery question upon American property. It is quite true that this question, however it is ultimately decided, must go through many stages, and long ones, before it can actually interfere between the planter and his slave, and bring any force to bear upon the slaveowning class. Colonel Fremont is not even an Abolitionist; he is only a non-Extensionist, opposed to the admission of any more slave States into the Union than at present belong to it. So there is no interference professed or intended, even ultimately, on the part of the Republican party, whom Colonel Fremont represents, with slave property. But the owner of slave-cultivated property looks beyond this negative position taken by the moderate anti-slavery party, and sees, or imagines he sees, the real result of non-extension. He sees the non-slave States increasing in number, while the slave States remain stationary; and he naturally sees in this disparity a most unequal battlefield for the ultimate fight with the Abolitionists. A majority of non-slave States will not keep up forever a magnanimous forbearance towards a species of property against which all their moral and religious feelings are enlisted. The non-extension principle, then, is ultimately as unfavourable to him as that of the direct Abolitionist, and a line which is simply negative for the present prepares gradually but surely the ground of positive invasion. All this is prospective, however; it will take a long time to work out the problem, and, for the present, the slaveowner's property is as safe as any other. But now our melancholy faculty of foresight comes in, which so often acts to our injury. This distant and future invasion, simply because the chance of it is seen now, has a present effect, and the value of slave property falls with the rumour of Colonel Fremont's chance of election. The case is analogous to the effect which the rise and success of a revolutionary party in this country would have upon the value of tithes and church property. Nobody can doubt that, were a certain political party in this country to gain ground, the value of tithes would fall, not that their payment would not go on all the same for the time, but the unfavourable prospect would tell upon a buyer, and so affect their present value.

This is not, perhaps, sufficiently understood in this country, or taken into account in our estimate of American politics, and the extraordinary excitement which attends their elections. One is on the look out for explanations of American behavior in public life which certainly is an extraordinary phenomenon. The attack on Mr. Sumner set us thinking and puzzling out the American riddle, how a civilized people could make such an exhibition of itself as was involved in the general approval of outrage in the South. But, without saying that it accounts for the whole phenomenon, here is a fact which, we instantly see, must have something to do with it. The truth is, people do get very sore where their pockets are touched; and we do not sufficiently realize in this country to what extent these electioneering questions in America are really at bottom questions of the pocket. Mr. Preston S. Brooks was, in his own idea, standing up *pro aris et focis*—that is to say, in transatlantic interpretation, for his pocket—when he assaulted Mr. Sumner. He said to himself, "My property is worth so much less in the market at this moment, if these attacks upon slavery go on. Mr. Sumner is robbing me—actually taking the money out of my pocket." The property consequence which accompanies the slavery question is, as we see from our correspondence, not a mere comparatively abstract consequence, to be felt at some great distant struggle, but it is an existing, solid and felt consequence, involving present deterioration of property.

This property question, then, appears to colour the whole field of American politics, and to fix the position of American parties. Strange to say, in the United States the Democrat is the Conservative; he acquiesces in the whole existing American system, slavery and all the rest; he swallows it whole; he acquiesces in things as they are, and in the existing proportions and relative strength of both sides. Thus he is ready to receive Kansas a slave State, and for this purpose supports the new Kansas Legislature. The party opposed to the Democratic is, on the other hand, a revolutionary one in a sense; that is to say, it does not acquiesce in America as it is. This party wants change; a section of it would abolish slavery to-morrow, if it could, and so knock on the head one of the most important institutions of the country; another section, which Colonel Fremont represents, if it would not change things themselves, would change the proportions of the American system—would gradually leave the slave States stranded, and connect all the new and rising strength of America with the Free State element. The Democrat, then, is the American Tory, for keeping things as they are, and a patron of property. His Abolitionist opponent is a Revolutionist as regards property, and sacrifices conservatism to a higher principle, as he maintains, of morals and religion. He is ready to reduce all slave-tilled land 50 per cent. in the market, if he can only abolish the abomination of slavery. The Southern orators have thus lately talked about the "chivalry" of Mr. Preston S. Brooks. What they mean is, that he and they stand out for America "as she is," that they uphold the principle of property, and are loyal to her old and venerable institutions, especially the "peculiar domestic institution"—that is to say, that they are Tories, opposing revolutionists and fanatics. Such is American Toryism and chivalry, and *mutatis mutandis*, it is not so very unlike what has sometimes gone under these names in this country not so very long since.

SOUTHERN COMMON SENSE—A RATIONAL VIEW OF THE DISUNION THREAT.

From The Baltimore Patriot.

WHEN a journal like the Richmond *Enquirer* assumes to itself the right to speak authoritatively for the whole South, *it becomes the duty of such Southern members of the Confederacy as repudiate all idea of disunion to declare their fealty to the articles of confederation in language which cannot be mistaken.* So far as respects the integrity of the Federal bond, it matters not who is elected President—*Maryland will stand by the Union.* She has her preferences, and will indicate them by her vote; but if the statesman whom she regards most worthy of being chosen Chief Magistrate should unfortunately be supplanted by a more popular candidate, she will imitate the example of that fine old English Admiral, Blake, who had no love for the protectorate of Cromwell, yet felt it to be his duty to serve his country, no matter who held the reins of Government.

Maryland will stand firmly by the Union. Not that her citizens are insensible to the perils by which it is encompassed, but because, as a member of the confederacy, whatever power she possesses may still be exerted to promote the ends of good government, and reëstablish peace and fraternal concord; and because, also, when once the South separates from the North, the process of disintegration between the several States will have commenced, and will continue until each State, for some real or imaginary offence, sets up a Republic of its own, with its petty fortalices—its insignificant navy, its corporal's guard of an army, and with all those gnawing jealousies which are the consequences of rivalry among petty sovereignties.

Moreover, separation involves the abandonment of nationality—a rending asunder of that glorious flag which now commands respect on every sea, and is a signal of protection to a commerce which girdles the world with wealthy argosies. What nation which now stands in awe of the United States would care to do homage to any of the petty republics of a once glorious confederacy?

It is not folly, but sheer midsummer madness to talk of separating from a confederacy which, in union, is all powerful, to become, as distinct governments, the scorn and contempt of the whole civilized world. Mark further what follows. The Government of the United States, during the pressure of the Mexican war, required a loan. It was taken at once, and at a high premium. Recently, the State of Virginia, by merely threatening disunion, found her bonds unsalable in foreign markets, and if she was capable of carrying out her threat they would not command purchasers at any price.

But *is the Enquirer*, while hurling its denunciations against all who differ from it in opinion, *quite certain that it speaks the sentiment of Virginia?* There is a hardy, transmontane population within the limits of that State which, notwithstanding the fierce pugnacity displayed by our cotemporary, can never be roused to join its rebellious cry. Still less could it be brought to carry out, in practice, the treason which the *Enquirer* preaches. *If any secession at all takes place, it will be the secession of Western Virginia from the seaboard Counties*—but *not* from the Union.

Carolina fire-eaters have pointed out, in magniloquent sentences, the admirable capabilities of the South for carrying on a defensive war. They have shown how batteries, placed in this pass, and rifles bristling on that hillside, could work destruction on an advancing foe. Colonel Brooks has, moreover, advised, in the event of Fremont's election, that a gallant army of Southerners, equipped with bowie-knife and revolver, shall march in grim procession to Washington, and seize upon the Government archives and treasury. Our impulsive neighbour of the *Enquirer* straightway blows a bugle blast, and raises the war-cry of the old Covenanters, "To your tents, O Israel!" But neither the defensive capacity of the Southern States, nor the tempting suggestion of Col. Brooks, nor "the windy suspirations of forced breath" of the Richmond *Enquirer*, can stimulate a patriotic people, proud of their national renown, glorying in their national prosperity, reverencing their national destiny, and sensible of the power which that nationality insures, to sally forth on so Quixotic an expedition, or even to attempt to crush out the memory of the past, and the hope of the future, by an act which would entail upon their posterity a bitterer destiny than that which befell the children of Adam under the weight of the primeval curse.

It is confidently asserted by the Democracy that their great strength lies at the South, and accordingly they claim for Mr. Buchanan every Southern State. We do not care to wake them just yet from so pleasant yet delusive a dream, though we can assure them it was not an "angel's whisper" which made their slumbers joyous with such tidings. Still, conceding—for the sake of the argument—that the South is largely Democratic, we would respectfully ask, how, then, is it possible for the South to refuse implicit obedience to the rule of any President legally elected, when we know that it is a cardinal principle with the Democracy that "the *majority* shall govern?" If that majority is found at the North during the coming election, will the leaders of the South repudiate their Democratic principles, and forthwith rise in rebellion? Will Col. Brooks marshal his cohorts for an assault upon the Capitol? Will the Richmond *Enquirer* sound the charge; and, above all, will the popular heart of the South respond? Virginia dare not, for her western Counties hold those of the east in check. *Maryland will not*, for disloyalty is a word not to be found in her political vocabulary. As a border slave State, Maryland has suffered more largely from the aggressions of Abolitionists than any of her Southern sisters, *but these grievances, serious as they are, would be aggravated ten-fold by a dissolution of the Union.* The respect which a large majority of the people of the North now have for the compromises incorporated into the Federal compact, restrain them at this time from countenancing any active interference with that species of property in the Southern States, the secure possession of which is guaranteed by the Fugitive Slave law, and reaffirmed still more strongly by the Compromises of 1850; but let the Constitution be once abrogated, and who shall say to what lengths many of those men would go, who now consider themselves bound by the obligations it imposes?

THE SOUTH BECOMING RESIGNED.

OUR readers may depend upon it that the South is not ready to leave the Union yet. When the Southern politicians said that they would break up the Confederacy and go off by themselves if Fremont was elected President of the United States, they did it much in the same spirit that Benedick vowed to die a bachelor; they did not think that Fremont's election could possibly happen. As the probability of that event increases, the threats of of severing the Union become, in certain quarters at least, less frequent and less violent. A disposition to make the best of whatever may happen is evidently taking possession of Southern bosoms—the beginning of what we have every reason to believe will, in the end, become a mood of the most serene resignation.

A few days since we published a letter addressed by Mr. Aiken, of South Carolina, a Representative in Congress from one of the districts of Charleston, to his constituents, declining a second nomination. Mr. Aiken evidently means to prepare his constituents for quiet acquiescence in the worst event that can happen, by which they doubtless understand the election of a President who holds to the ancient policy of restricting slavery within its original limits. Take a passage as a sample:

"Long may it be consistent with our duties and our rights to be a component part of the Congress of the United States.

"Severely have the bonds of this Union been tried. Oppressive and intolerant have been the factious attempts at sectional domination, and powerful seemed the array

[The following strong, manly and eloquent letter was written by Mr. Geo. R. Russell, of Massachusetts, in reply to an invitation to attend a Mass Meeting, a few days since, at Providence, R. I. Mr. Russell is a Republican, but, we fear, far ahead of his party. A party as powerful as the Republicans, and governed by the spirit that dictated this letter, would settle the question of slavery, or "settle" the slaveholders in a twelve month; but we fear the Republicans are not the men to do it.—EDS. STANDARD.]

JAMAICA PLAIN, September 5, 1856.

DEAR SIR: As I cannot be present at the Fremont Mass Meeting, to be held at Providence on the 10th inst., I take the liberty to answer the invitation you have kindly extended to me, by offering a few remarks applicable to the times.

Never since our political existence has the nation been called upon to decide so momentous an election as the one approaching. The question before us is, whether patriotism and honesty shall redeem the national character from the infamy with which it is covered by the profligacy, bad faith and utter recklessness of the last few years—whether we shall stand forth an example to the world of a free and enlightened people, governed by equal laws and impartial rulers, to whom the oppressed of all lands turn for consolation and hope; or shall become a scorn to the nations, and our daily history be quoted by despotism that its subjects may become disgusted at the contrast between our professions and our practice.

The slave oligarchy, which rules us with iron sway, brands the whole country with its infamous character. Every lawless aggression comes back to us. The blood-stained soil of Kansas, the smoking ruins of homes made desolate, the murdered bodies of our brethren insulted even after death, the threatened subjection, uttered by one ruffian on the floor of the Senate Chamber, and carried out by his fellow-ruffians of Georgia, South Carolina and Missouri, the sneaking, cowardly assault on a free State Senator, plotted, encouraged and approved by those who would resort to assassination when they cannot refute argument; and who become partakers of the brutal villany by sanctioning it, the street and bar-room broils, commencing in drunkenness and ending in murder, all emanate from the same source, and all combine to fasten upon the whole land a degradation of which we are joint participators.

We have gradually been brought to a condition which may well alarm those who care for the honour and welfare of the country. Slavery has become paramount, and all other questions are forgotten or neglected, unless they can be made subservient to the advancement of a grasping and arrogant power which allows no consideration of justice or good faith to interrupt its unhallowed course. There would seem to be no policy but Southern policy, no interests but Southern interests. Every right of the North is disregarded, and her citizens call in vain for redress. Their just claims are rejected, and their remonstrances answered by derision and insult. The differences of North and South, fostered and encouraged by the National Administration, are growing to fearful magnitude; and if the present one-sided policy of the Government is not overthrown at the next election, and slavery confined within prescribed bounds, four years hence will find us in a position that will preclude any amicable adjustment. We have borne and borne until we can bear no longer. The voracity of the Slave Power is forever crying "not enough." There is no end to its appetite, and we must be resigned to sink hopelessly beneath its feet, or rise up and crush it under our own. There is no middle course. We must either conquer or be conquered. It is no time now to talk of compromise. We have had too much of that unmeaning word—that sop to Cerberus to amuse and keep him from barking until further steps can be made towards utter darkness. The day of wheedling compromises has gone by, I trust never to return. They have cheated us too often, and if we ever trust to them again we shall deserve to be the abject slaves our masters are trying to make us. It is in vain to cry "peace, peace, when there is no peace;" to whine about conciliation and concession, and by so doing give ourselves up, bound hand and foot, to a power that knows neither justice nor generosity. The Northern man who talks now of conciliation is a traitor to the North, and is fitter for the swamps of Carolina than the free soil of New England. Such men are helpers of the iniquity which is bringing shame and ruin on the country, and by their servile sycophancy to the South, they encourage an audacity whose fruits are civil war. They denounce as sectional the only party that advocates freedom, while they themselves acknowledge no country north of the black line of slavery. The gloom which now hangs over the land is the work of Northern men who are false to their birth-place, false to their former professions and their present convictions, false to their own brethren, and the Christian faith in which they have been nurtured.

It is but little satisfaction that the political graves of these false men have been dug by their own hands. Their public career has terminated, leaving a moral for the contemplation of future aspirants; but, though they rest from their labours, they bequeath a mournful illustration that "the evil that men do, lives after them."

Constitution and Union are preached to us by the South whenever we show any symptoms of restlessness, and we are whipped back to obedience by those who are continually repudiating the one and threatening to break up the other. We have begun to suspect that some monstrous villany is on foot whenever the tocsin of disunion is sounded. The doleful death-knell, though so often changed, still falls alarmingly on the ear, and we look anxiously about us, not for the breaking up, but to see what fraud is coming. If the Union is a scourge to drive us, or an opiate to lull us into forgetfulness of everything manly; if self-respect, individual rights, national honour, are to be sacrificed; if we are to be wronged out of everything and insulted for remonstrating; if there is nothing left to us but the name of liberty, and we are mere accomplices to an outrageous and fearfully increasing despotism, it is time to weigh the value of a bargain the advantages of which are all on one side. I know that it is customary at public meetings to fall back on the Union and its boasted priceless benefits, to smother every cry of indignation by a holy horror of breaking the bonds which connect us with the slave States. So long as this continues we shall be cheated and insulted, and our desperate attempts at Union-saving will, as usual, be treated with scorn and contempt.

We get well kicked, and we submit with exemplary meekness, being positively assured that the last kick is a "finality;" but, before the pain subsides, there comes another and another, and the same assurance with each. A story is told of a Quaker, who, on receiving a blow on his face, turned the other cheek, to which a similar salute was applied. "Friend," says the man of peace, "Scriptural injunction being now satisfied, I will proceed to administer to thee a little wholesome correction." We have turned so often that there is no part of us left untouched, and as we have gained nothing by our humility and forbearance, the Quaker's example is worth remembering.

It has been well said that "the best way to preserve the Union is to make the Union worth preserving." If we direct our efforts to this end we shall be doing faithful service to the Union and to the country. One thing is quite certain. The slaveholders, in their continual threats of disunion, either mean what they say and desire that result, or they use the menace as a convenient instrument to bring us back to their interests when they discover signs of bolting, and have no serious intention of separating from us. If they are sober and really think they shall be better off without us, no deprecation on our part will stop them. We shall only bow, and cringe and beg for nothing. If they only mean to frighten us, and have no intention of relinquishing the only thing that keeps life in them, they will be brought to their senses the moment they find that the old trick is discovered, and that disunion has ceased to be a bugbear to the North. There is probably a small minority at the South who sincerely wish to establish a separate empire, where the "peculiar institution" can have unrebuked sway; and the poor, self-deluded, God forsaken wretches actually persuade themselves that they shall improve by the change.

But the larger part see what disunion would be to them, and have no idea whatever of giving up an alliance that maintains and protects them. They intend that we shall find men and money for the aggressive wars they have in contemplation. They want us to fight their battles, pay their debts, supply them with every article of use or luxury, as we ever have done. They need us to feed them, to clothe them, and to instruct them; to care for their physical wants, and to encourage any unwonted tendencies to the cultivation of intellect. Literature and teachers must come from the North, for whoever hears or reads of a Southern book, or of a Southern scholar, unless here and there a solitary graduate from a Northern college. Their state of semi-civilization has very limited demands for science or art, but to gratify these they must also turn towards the polar star. They look to us to defend them from foreign invasion, and to aid them in the hour of extremity from that more dangerous foe nestling at their door-stones, of whom their harrowed souls call up visions filled with the groans of dying men, the shrieks of women and children, and a midnight sky reddened by conflagration. In fact, they would be a body without head or limbs, a hand without fingers, a helpless, miserable lump of nothingness, and their bitterest enemies could wish them no worse fortune than to try the experiment.

Some one has remarked that the Southern threat of separation is like the town's poor threatening to separate from the town. This is both true and comprehensive. There is nothing, not even a servile insurrection that would cause such alarm in the slave camp as a serious disunion movement at the North. It would bring the thinking back to their senses, and we should have conciliation and assurances of a friendly feeling, instead of bluster and brutality.

In either case a familiarity with the once dreaded word *disunion*, a sober calm consideration of its significance will be useful. If the South intends to persevere in her reckless course, and make the North entirely subservient to her will; if we are to have every session of Congress occupied only with the designs of the Slave Power, and the whole thought and authority of the Federal Government are to be concentrated on its extension and perpetuity; in a word, if the Free States are merely tin kettles tied to the tail of the Slave States, it is worth considering whether we had better cut the string and let them run to destruction without us.

The aim of slavery has ever been to obtain the balance of power, to control legislation, and to make the National Government auxiliary to its purpose. But it has, until lately, worked secretly without avowing its intention. It has now thrown off all disguise, and unblushingly declares that it *will* rule the country. Whether it shall do so rests, as yet, with the free States. They have let power gradually slide from their hands, and have criminally left the destinies of this great country to Southern bullies and northern renegades. If the free States intend to assert their rights, to take the control of the country, as they ought, to keep slavery within allotted limits, to make it entirely sectional, and to separate the government from any participation in it, to declare that the reign of the slave oligarchy is over forever, that the Union shall be a Union for freedom, that the slave States shall remain in it, and do their duty to it, they will unitedly confirm and sustain the Philadelphia nominations. An entire change of policy can alone save the country. Two platforms are offered to the people, and the respective candidates are pledged to carry them out. One will secure freedom, equality, prosperity and peace, while the other will assuredly rivet upon us the chains of slavery or the horrors of a civil war.

For the first time since we have ranked among the nations of the earth, an election is to take place based solely upon freedom or slavery. All minor questions are forgotten, and no difference of opinion exists save on the great issue which engulphs all others. The mighty antagonisms which have been growing with our growth, until the black shadow of the one threatens to overspread with gloom all that is lovely in the other, are to meet face to face in actual conflict. As they confront each other in hostile array, with banners, whose symbols indicate their respective professions, the distinctive character of each is presented to us. On one side there are civilization, intelligence, cultivation, refinement and virtue. On the other, barbarism, brutality, ignorance, vice and crime. We must choose between them. Respectfully yours,

G. R. RUSSELL.

WM. M. CHACE, Esq., Providence.

MR. R. W. EMERSON'S REMARKS

At the Kansas Relief Meeting in Cambridge, Wednesday evening, September 10.

[Furnished for publication to The Boston Telegraph.]

I REGRET, with all this company, the absence of Mr. Whitman, of Kansas, whose narrative was to constitute the interest of this meeting. Mr. Whitman is not here; but knowing, as we all do, why he is not, what duties kept him at home, he is more than present. His vacant chair speaks for him. For quite other reasons, I had been wiser to have stayed at home, unskilled as I am to address a political meeting, but it is impossible for the most recluse to extricate himself from the questions of the times.

There is this peculiarity about the case of Kansas, that all the right is on one side. We hear the screams of hunted wives and children answered by the howl of the butchers. The testimony of the telegraphs from St. Louis and the border confirm the worst details. The printed letters of the Border Ruffians avow the facts. When pressed to look at the cause of the mischief in the Kansas laws, the President falters and declines the discussion; but his supporters in the Senate, Mr. Cass, Mr. Geyer, Mr. Hunter, speak out, and declare the intolerable atrocity of the code. It is a maxim that all party spirit produces the incapacity to receive natural impressions from facts; and our recent political history has abundantly borne out the maxim. But these details that have come from Kansas are so horrible, that the hostile press have but one word in reply, namely, that it is all exaggeration, 'tis an Abolition lie. Do the Committee of Investigation say, that the outrages have been overstated? Does their dismal catalogue of private tragedies show it? Do the private letters? Is it an exaggeration, that Mr. Hopps, of Somerville, Mr. Hoyt, of Deerfield, Mr. Jennison, of Groton, Mr. Phillips, of Berkshire, have been murdered? That Mr. Robinson, of Fitchburg, has been imprisoned? Rev. Mr. Nute, of Springfield, seized, and, up to this time, we have no tidings of his fate?

In these calamities under which they suffer, and the worse which threaten them, the people of Kansas ask for bread, clothes, arms and men, to save them alive, and enable them to stand against these enemies of the human race. They have a right to be helped for they have helped themselves.

This aid must be sent, and this is not to be doled out as an ordinary charity; but bestowed up to the magnitude of the want, and, as has been elsewhere said, "on the scale of a national action." I think we are to give largely, lavishly, to these men. And we must prepare to do it. We must learn to do with less, live in a smaller tenement, sell our apple-trees, our acres, our pleasant houses. I know people who are making haste to reduce their expenses, and pay their debts, not with a view to new accumulations, but in preparation to save and earn for the benefit of the Kansas emigrants.

We must have aid from individuals; we must also have aid from the State. I know that the last Legislature refused that aid. I know that lawyers hesitate on technical grounds, and wonder what method of relief the Legislature will apply. But I submit that, in a case like this, where citizens of Massachusetts, legal voters here, have emigrated to national territory, under the sanction of every law, and are then set on by highwaymen, driven from their new homes, pillaged, and numbers of them killed and scalped, and the whole world knows that this is no accidental brawl, but a systematic war to the knife, and in loud defiance of all laws and liberties. I submit that the Governor and Legislature should neither slumber nor sleep till they have found out how to send effectual aid and comfort to these poor farmers, or else, should resign their seats to those who can. But first let them hang the halls of the State House with black crape, and order funeral service to be said there for the citizens whom they were unable to defend.

We stick at the technical difficulties. I think there never was a people so choked and stultified by forms. We adore the forms of law, instead of making them vehicles of wisdom and justice. I like the primary assembly. I own I have little esteem for governments. I esteem them only good in the moment when they are established. I set the private man first. He only who is able to stand alone is qualified to be a citizen. Next to the private man, I value the primary assembly, met to watch the government and to correct it. That is the theory of the American State, that it exists to execute the will of the citizens, is always responsible to them, and is always to be changed when it does not. First, the private citizen, then the primary assembly, and the government last.

In this country, for the last few years, the Government has been the chief obstruction to the common weal. Who doubts that Kansas would have been very well settled, if the United States had let it alone? The Government armed and led the Ruffians against the poor farmers. I do not know any story so gloomy as the politics of this country for the last twenty years, centralizing ever more manifestly round one spring, and that a vast crime, and ever more plainly, until it is notorious, that all promotion, power and policy are dictated from one source—illustrating the fatal effects of a false position to demoralize legislation, and put the best people always at a disadvantage; one crime always present, always to be varnished over, to find fine names for, and we Free State men, as accomplices to the guilt, ever in the power of the grand offender.

Language has lost its meaning in the universal cant. *Representative Government* is really misrepresentative; *Union* is a conspiracy against the Northern States which the Northern States are to have the privilege of paying for; the *adding of Cuba and Central America* to the slave marts is *enlarging the area of Freedom. Manifest Destiny, Democracy, Freedom*, fine names for an ugly thing. They call it otto of rose and lavender—I call it bilge water. It is called Chivalry and Freedom; I call it the taking all the earnings of a poor man and the earnings of his little girl and boy, and the earnings of all that shall come from him, his children's children forever.

But this is Union, and this is Democracy; and our poor people, led by the nose by these fine words, dance and sing, ring bells and fire cannon, with every new link of the chain which is forged for their limbs by the plotters in the Capitol.

What are the results of law and Union? There is no Union. Can any citizen of Massachusetts travel in honour through Kentucky and Alabama and speak his mind? Or can any citizen of the Southern country who happens to think kidnapping a bad thing, say so? Let Mr. Underwood of Virginia answer. It is to be supposed that there are no men in Carolina who dissent from the popular sentiment now reigning there? It must happen, in the variety of human opinion, that there are dissenters. They are as silent as the grave. Are there no women in that country, women who, always carry the conscience of a people? Yet we have not heard one discordant whisper.

In the free States, we have a snivelling support to slavery. The Judges give cowardly interpretations to the law, in direct opposition to the known foundation of all law, that *every immoral statute is void.* And here of Kansas, the President says: "Let the complainants go to the Courts"; though he knows, that when the poor plundered farmer comes to the Court, he finds the ringleader who has robbed him, dismounting from his own horse, unbuckling his knife to sit as his Judge.

The President told the Kansas Committee, that the whole difficulty grew from "the factious spirit of the Kansas people respecting institutions which they need not have concerned themselves about." A very remarkable speech from a Democratic President to his fellow-citizens, that they are not to concern themselves with institutions which they alone are to create and determine. The President is a lawyer, and should know the statutes of the land. But I borrow the language of an eminent man, used long since, with far less occasion: "If that be law, let the ploughshare be run under the foundations of the Capitol; and if that be Government, extirpation is the only cure."

I am glad to see that the terror at disunion and anarchy is disappearing. Massachusetts, in its heroic day, had no Government—was an anarchy. Every man stood on his own feet, was his own governor; and there was no breach of peace from Cape Cod to Mount Hoosac. California, a few years ago, by the testimony of all people at that time in the country, had the best Government that ever existed. Pans of gold lay drying outside of every man's tent, in perfect security. The land was measured into little strips of a few feet wide, all side by side. A bit of ground that your hand could cover was worth one or two hundred dollars, on the edge of your strip; and there was no dispute. Every man throughout the country was armed with knife and revolver, and it was known that instant justice would be administered to each offence, and perfect peace reigned. For, the Saxon man, when he is well awake, is not a pirate, but a citizen, all made of hooks and eyes, and links himself naturally to his brothers, as bees hook themselves to one another, and to their queen, in a loyal swarm.

But the hour is coming when the strongest will not be strong enough. A harder task will the new revolution of the nineteenth century be, than was the revolution of the eighteenth century. I think the American Revolution bought its glory cheap. If the problem was new, it was simple. If there were few people they were united, and the enemy, 3,000 miles off. But now, vast property, gigantic interest, family connections, webs of party, cover the land with a net work that immensely multiplies the dangers of war.

Fellow-citizens, in these times full of the fate of the Republic, I think the towns should hold town-meetings, and resolve themselves into Committees of Safety, go into permanent sessions, adjourning from week to week, from month to month. I wish we could send the Sergeant-at-Arms to stop every American who is about to leave the country. Send home every one who is abroad, least they should find no country to return to. Come home and stay at home, while there is a country to save. When it is lost it will be time enough then for any who are luckless enough to remain alive to gather up their clothes and depart to some land where freedom exists.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT.—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, SEPT. 20, 1856.

THE JUDGMENT AND COUNSEL OF AN OHIO MINISTER.

THE Abolitionists have, for many years past, declared, and have fortified their statement with abundant evidence, that the Church, in matters of practical reform, is behind those whom they attempt injuriously to stigmatize as "the world"; it is an established fact that the theatre, years ago, opened its doors and extended its hospitality to "Uncle Tom," though he is still shut out of the broad aisle and the prayer-meeting; in this, as in many other matters, the worldling, the publican and the sinner, are nearer the kingdom of heaven than the churchling. But we rarely see the Gospel according to Demas so distinctly set forth, and the religious duty of following the multitude stated in such direct terms as in a "Letter from Ohio" in *The Independent* of August 28. This letter purports to come from a minister of the New School Presbyterian Church, who indicates his residence no more nearly than to date his letter from Ohio, but who proceeds lucidly to describe himself as having always been anti-slavery, though never ultra on that subject, having never voted a third party ticket, nor preached anti-slavery sermons. So one might claim always to have been a temperance man, though never ultra on that subject, having never abstained from using spirits himself, nor from giving it to his workmen and friends.

The position of this Ohio minister does not result from ignorance of what slavery is. He speaks intelligently of the essentially vicious character of slavery, and of the fact that the greatest crimes perpetrated under that relation are not *abuses* of the system, but a natural and legitimate outgrowth of it. He says that in reading the discussions in the New School Presbyterian Assembly on the question whether slaveholding is a sin *per se*, nothing struck him so forcibly as the apparent avoidance, on the part of nearly all the speakers, of the *facts* belonging to the case; that they contented themselves with deciding that the relation of *servitude* is not in itself wrong; whereas the real question is whether the relation of master and *slave*, as it exists in the South, and *as it is defined by Southern laws*, is wrong. He justly states that the relation, as defined by law, is one which vests in the master such an ownership in the slave as renders void and worthless all other relations which the slave can hold or form; that the slave's relation to the Church, and to his wife and children, constitutes no barrier against his sale and removal to distant regions, where neither the Church nor his wife and children shall ever hear of him again; and that this *legal definition* of slavery, which sets the right of the master above all rights of the slave, settles the question whether slavery, as it exists in the Southern Churches, is a sin *per se*. He says that even if we admit that every Southern slaveholding church-member exercises his legal authority over his slaves in the most just and merciful spirit, and even that each is a sincere Christian, still it may be no less the duty of the Northern Church to withdraw fellowship from them; since, if the system is, by its legal definition, an outrage upon God and man—if it clothes bad men with power which they are sure to use, and do use, for the vilest purposes—and if it offers no protection to the slave for his dearest rights and affections—then the fact that good men participate in it cannot save it or them from the Church's condemnation. He further avers that it avails nothing to say that all human relations are liable to abuse, since the sufficient answer is, that the relation of master to slave is not a relation harmless in itself and merely liable to abuse, but *is itself the worst possible abuse*; that Law makes the wrongs which do actually flow from it certain, while human nature is what it is; that, so long as the master has legal power to sell the mother from her children and the husband from his wife, it will be done; and so long as the law provides no adequate protection for the chastity of the slave-woman, she will be the victim of lust; and that these things are not the accidents or abuses of the system, but the necessary and certain results which flow from its legal character.

The question then is—he proceeds to say—"Has the time fully come when the Church ought to refuse fellowship to slaveholders? That this must soon be done, we cannot doubt. The conscience of the Church will require it. *The pressure of public opinion, asserting the natural rights of men, will compel it. As it now is, the Northern Church stands as a buttress to this monstrous system of wrong. While we fellowship those who uphold the system, we also uphold it.* If the time has not yet come for the Church to pronounce an irreversible sentence of condemnation, it soon will. Were there any hope that delay would bring the Southern Church to an enlightened conscience, it would be well to wait. But the attitude of the Southern Churches, like all whose position will not bear scrutiny, is defiant and insulting. It is a significant and lamentable fact, that no more thorough defenders of slavery, *as it exists in the South*, can be found, than in the New and Old School Churches."

Now, clearly understanding and fully admitting these five points,

1. That the claim of a master to own a slave is inherently and necessarily sinful;

2. That this claim, being in itself an outrage upon man and a sin against God, is not to be excused or tolerated in consequence of any abstinence, however careful, from those particular acts which are sometimes called the *abuses* of it;

3. That the Northern church now stands as a buttress to this monstrous system of wrong, since, while we fellowship those who uphold slavery, we also uphold it;

4. That there is no hope in waiting passively for a change of attitude, either in the Southern Churches which practice slavery, or in the Northern ones, who, with equal tenacity, uphold it;

5. That the pressure of *public opinion, asserting the natural rights of men*, will soon *compel* the Church to refuse fellowship to slaveholders; and that in a few years the whole world will wonder that the Church in the 19th century could have tolerated slaveholders, such as the law makes them, in its bosom.

The Ohio minister states his individual and deliberate judgment of what is now to be done (or rather *not* to be done) and his reasons for it, in the following amazing words.

"After having looked long and calmly at the position of the Presbyterian church, in both branches, on the slavery question, and carefully considered the signs of the times, I must conclude that the time has *nearly arrived* when the Northern Church must withdraw fellowship from the slaveholding Church of the South. In the first steps of a great reform, the Church cannot and ought not to exclude from its fellowship all who do not come up to the position which righteousness and truth demand. A large part of mankind are slow to adopt new sentiments, especially when these require great changes in existing institutions. Time must therefore be granted to those who cannot yet overcome the power of old opinions, and means must be employed for their enlightenment. But when the public mind has been in a good degree enlightened, *and public opinion inclined to the right side*, THEN THE CHURCH MUST REFUSE LONGER TO FELLOWSHIP THOSE WHO SUSTAIN THE WRONG. To do this before time has been given for public opinion to form itself would be despotic and cruel; not to do this *after the course of public opinion has been changed*, would make the Church a shelter for evil."

Here is a specimen of the article which calls itself, and would fain be called by everybody, "the salt of the earth and the light of the world." Think of it! Open your mind to take it in! Here is a minister of twelve years standing, accustomed to talk opprobiously of "the world" as in the wrong, and of "the Church" as God's chosen instrument to set it right, and of the "ministry" as his chosen instrument to keep the Church right. Here is a flagrant, unquestionable, and widely extended *sin*, openly practised both by the world and the church. The question is, shall the Church declare the sin to be a sin, and cut off its own fellowship with it; and the minister, the minister *of the Gospel* (as he calls himself), the very force which is to move the Church and thus to save the lost world, after having looked *long* and *calmly* at the subject, and carefully considered *the signs of the times*, publishes his conclusion, that the time has *nearly arrived* for the Church to do this; and gives as his reason for not doing it *now*—for not making NOW his accepted time and day of salvation—that the course of *public opinion* has not yet been changed; but as public opinion is rapidly changing, and will soon *compel* the church to take the position which he, the minister, sees now to be the right one, he gives his judgment that the time has *nearly arrived*.

Even this is not all. The unfaithfulness of the Ohio minister to his high calling of prophet and evangelist plunges to yet a lower deep. We have seen his attempt to postpone the Hour; let us listen to his judgment about the Man.

"Who thus shall begin the great work of purifying the Church from fellowship with slavery? I can see none better adapted to the work than *the churches of New England.*"

The Ohio minister is modest. He feels that he is not the man for so great a work. In former days, when neither he nor public opinion had *begun* to be awakened about the sin of slavery, with what holy boldness did he upbraid the timidity of Peter, when he was called to walk upon the waters, and of Jonah, when he fled to Tarshish; and of Moses, who, when called himself to bear the message, entreated, "Send, O Lord, by the hand of him whom thou wilt send." But now, when he feels that the crisis is *nearly*, though not quite, come—when time is thus given him to make preparation, and, watching the moment when the public opinion of a world lying in wickedness is about to compel the Church's reformation, to lift up his voice like a trumpet, and save both himself and his Church the discredit of being left entirely in the rear—his courage fails, and he cries—"Send, O Lord, by the hand of a New England man." And this is a specimen of the very flower and prime, the advance guard, the forlorn hope of the orthodox church.

What do the New England ministers think of the proposition of their Ohio brother? Will any one of them take up the sword and the trumpet and make a beginning? Is there really one of them (except Mr. Dexter of Boston) who is yet ready to come to the help of the Lord against the mighty?

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE WESTERN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

Read at its Anniversary, at Salem, Ohio, August 30.

A REFERENCE to the Treasurers Report will show that the receipts of the Society, always most pitiful in comparison with the magnitude of the object it seeks to accomplish, have during the last year been unusually limited. This is true especially of the aggregate of the general contributions of the friends of the cause. To the Ladies of the Cincinnati Bazaar and the Salem Fair, the Committee are especially indebted. But for their laborious efforts and liberal contributions our labors could not have been continued. This deficiency of pecuniary means has, of course, limited the operations of the Committee to a very narrow sphere. S. S. Foster, J. H. Philleo, and Aaron M. Powell, Agents of the American Anti-Slavery Society, with C. S. S. Griffing and Dr. Abram Brooke, Agents of our own Society, spent a short time last Fall in the lecturing field, mostly in Ohio, and with such results as to greatly increase our regret that their labours could not have been extended to a much longer period.

It is to be regretted that the public advocates of the cause should not have been more numerous than ever during the past year, that thus we could take advantage of the excited state of the public mind and turn it into the channel of thorough abolitionism. But the Committee have been compelled reluctantly to suspend their labors so far as public lecturing is concerned, leaving only their paper as the organ of communication and influence with the people.

The unavoidable result of this inactivity, of this lack of public discussions and conventions, has been, that the people have more and more yielded to the temptations of expediency, at the sacrifice of principle, and that some who once bore their practical testimony against the wickedness of the Government and the Union are now found among its most zealous supporters, laboring with a party in the government to secure the exclusion of slavery from the Territories, by perpetuating it in the States. The results of the last year are eminently confirmatory of the previous experience of Abolitionists, that the only way to keep even anti-slavery men at work uncompromisingly against slavery, is, to keep the great fundamental truths of the enterprise continually before them, moving their hearts and pressing their consciences, and urging all possible motives to thoroughness, fidelity and self-sacrificing labours for the oppressed millions of slaves. Without this they become weary in well doing and satisfy themselves with measures of concession and compromise. If therefore the Abolitionists of the West desire to see their cause advance, they must come forward with a new liberality to sustain the Executive Committee they shall appoint on this occasion.

The past year has been signalized by the violence which has marked the efforts of the Slave Power to extend its territory. It has thrown off the mask it has hitherto worn and boldly attempted to secure its purposes by the subversion of the civil rights of free citizens and by conquest of arms. This new development of slavery has awakened a spirit of opposition altogether unprecedented in the extent of its influences upon the public mind. It is awakening the purpose with some to meet violence with violence, and is combining the people of the Northern States in political resistance against these outrageous invasions of tyranny. An issue is really joined between a large portion of the people of the North and the Slave Power of the South. True, the issue joined is not the real one that must come at last. But the marshalling in political battle array of the slaveholding and non-slaveholding sections, on a question incidental to this ultimate issue, is an indication full of hope to those who look beyond the terrible struggle which must convulse this nation. The mad purpose of the slaveholders will, we trust, ere long, lead to a conflict on the true issue. To urge on and prepare the public mind of the North for this event, has been, and must still continue to be, the labor of the Western Anti-Slavery Society.

While, therefore, we rejoice in whatever may be gained in any conflict, and by any means—while we recognise the importance of saving the territories from the blighting curse of Slavery—while we repel by all honorable means all outrage upon the liberties of ourselves and our free white fellow-citizens—while we rejoice and labor most earnestly that there shall be "no slavery outside the slave States," we cannot consent to purchase these advantages by the concession that slavery has the right to exist in any State or on any spot of earth. We think it despicable and wicked to attempt to protect the rights of free white citizens in Kansas, or to secure our own political and physical prosperity and social ease, by consenting to a union with slaveholders, who are the most infamous of pirates; or to justify in any way their plunder upon human rights. We, therefore, without concession and without compromise, must continue to seek the abolition of American slavery as an object of far greater and more comprehensive importance than any other measure proposed by the church, by the government or by any political organization. We have, therefore, according to our ability, sought to test the conduct of all men and the principles and measures of all organizations and parties, our own among them, by the one question of human right to human freedom. Standing unflinchingly by this principle, and refusing to abandon the millions of friendless slaves, even under the fallacious pretence of securing their ultimate good; and striving for fidelity in rebuke of all the practical opponents of liberty, whether they assume their antagonistic position from perverseness of heart or error of judgment, we find ourselves still a small, despised minority. The unscrupulous and crafty, brand us as impracticables and fools. Those rendered querulous by the response of their consciences to our reproofs, call us Ishmaelites, who prefer finding fault with anti-slavery men, to effecting the redemption of the slave. Bigots and pious knaves cry infidel, while slaveholding, Union-loving patriots stigmatize us as traitors. Our measures are contemned and our principles scorned, yet our work is before us, and fidelity has not lost and shall not lose its reward. We cannot therefore consent to abandon our demand of unconditional freedom for the slave and the dissolution of all compacts and unions that hold him in bonds.

Your Committee, thoroughly convinced that slavery owes its continued existence, and its continued spread and prosperity, to the wicked and compromising Union on which this Government is based, have laboured to the best of their ability to induce the people to abandon it, preparatory to the establishment of a Government based on the principles of human equality and natural justice. In furtherance of this primary anti-slavery measure, the Committee, the last Winter, prepared and signed by its officers, on behalf of the Society, a memorial to the Legislature of Ohio, asking that body to take the necessary preliminary measures for the withdrawal of Ohio from the Federal Union. The memorial asked the Legislature to decline entering upon the election of a United States Senator—to rescind the laws regulating the election of members to the House of Representatives of the United States, and election for President—to provide for the amendment of the Constitution of Ohio which shall repeal the 7th section of the 15th article, and forbid all State officers to take an oath to support the Constitution of the United States, and such other measures as should appear expedient to effect a peaceful withdrawal of Ohio from the Federal Union.

The Committee asked for the adoption of these measures:

1st. Because the Federal Government had signally failed to protect the people of Ohio in the enjoyment of "life, liberty and property."

2d. Because in the Union the influence of every citizen using the elective franchise is pledged to the holding as slaves near four millions of our fellow-beings.

3d. Because we are forbidden by the Constitution to protect and aid the slaves in securing their liberty.

4th. Because we would not be involved in the crime and disgrace of recognising pirates and kidnappers as fit to administer a government for the security of human rights and the protection of human liberty.

5th. Because it is evident from the nature of the case and from past experience, that no true Union does or can exist between the free and slave States.

6th. Because the principles of morality forbid loyalty to a slaveholding government.

7th. Because Ohio already possesses within herself, organized institutions, ample for the protection of her citizens, and is thus qualified to open the way for the construction of a confederacy founded upon justice and devoted to the maintenance of equal rights.

The Memorial was forwarded to Hon. M. Jewett of the House of Representatives and to Hon. J. D. Cattell of the Senate. These gentlemen presented the petitions to the bodies of which they were respectively members and in both they were referred to the Committee on Federal relations. In the House, the Committee reported against the prayer of the memorialists without argument and without assigning any reasons, so far as we are aware. In the Senate, the Committee immediately after the presentation of the Memorial, before even the Senate indulged in a recess, hastened to report, "That it had given the subject all the attention it demanded"—that it admitted the imperfection of the Government, but thought it more perfect than any other extant—that the great body of the people of Ohio were loyal to the Confederacy—"that for these and a variety of reasons that might be stated" (but were not), "the Committee, in the most decided and emphatic manner, condemn the treasonable objects of the memorialists and ask to be discharged from the further consideration of the subject."

Neither branches of the Legislature took any notice whatever of a request, respectfully urged in the memorial, that it should be referred to a special Committee and that the memorialists should be heard in support of the object of their memorial. Notwithstanding the cavalier manner in which the Committees and both branches of the Legislature disposed of the memorial, it gave rise to a very earnest debate on the right of petition, in which the gentlemen to whom the memorial was committed, with others, distinguished themselves by the decision and ability with which they defended it; whilst a considerable number showed themselves willing to suppress this constitutional right of the citizen for the sake of partisan success, and the privilege of continuing in fellowship with slaveholders. The presentation of this startling proposition to the Legislature in a form which called for action, excited attention throughout the State, and awakened for a time a healthful agitation on the subject. And we think its success indicates a course which it would be well to prosecute still further.

At the time of our last Anniversary, the Slave Power, through the Federal Judiciary, was striving to subdue Pennsylvania to more abject submission, by substituting for the ordinary forms of law to the arbitrary dicta of a Federal Judge. Passmore Williamson was then in prison, and through him it was designed to strike down the personal liberty of all who dared effectively to vindicate the cause of freedom, and by asserting the supremacy of the Federal Court, it expected through its decision to maintain the right of slaveholders in Pennsylvania; in the emphatic language of the Court, to establish the fact "that a man has as good right to travel through that State with his slaves as with his carpet-sack or his overcoat." Subsequently, Judge Kane without retreating from this monstrous legal position, which he has left on record as law and precedent for future use, released Mr. Williamson. Not, however, until the Supreme Judiciary of the State had acquiesced in the monstrous claim of the Slave Power, as asserted by Judge Kane. Thus, the State Judiciary of Pennsylvania was thoroughly subdued, and the work that was desired by the Slave Power really done, although Passmore Williamson received his discharge, and Jane Johnson and her children are still in the enjoyment of comparative freedom. To maintain which, however, in consequence of the victory of slaveholders in this case, she is compelled to surround herself with all possible means to elude the search of the national bloodhounds which at any time her claimant, the United States Minister at Nicaragua, may set upon her track.

Desirous in every possible manner to resist this dangerous method of slavery extension into the non-slaveholding States, the Executive Committee took measures to secure the circulation of petitions to the House of Representatives for the impeachment of Judge Kane, for this high-handed tyranny. A very considerable number of signatures were obtained to these petitions which were forwarded to various members of the House. There, however, they were permitted to pass quietly into oblivion. Why we cannot say. Perhaps because it was thought it might conflict with some of their plans of political operation.

A few months subsequent to this success in legally extending slavery over Pennsylvania, the same object was sought and secured in Ohio.

The year previous was also distinguished by a similar and successful effort by the slaveholders. In the case of Rosetta Armistead, Judge McLean had asserted the authority of a slave Commissioner's warrant to be above that of the Judiciary of Ohio, and, in fact, that the Fugitive Slave law nullified the Constitutional provision of our State, which secures liberty to all its inhabitants unconvicted of crime.

The facts are briefly these, Judge Parker, on hearing of a writ of habeas corpus, released Rosetta from the custody of the Marshal, who held her by virtue of a Commissioner's warrant, as a fugitive slave. In defiance of this decision and by authority of his old warrant, the Marshal again seized her, whereupon Judge Parker imprisoned him for contempt. Judge McLean, of the Federal Court, on a hearing of a writ of *habeas corpus*, released the Marshal, thus affirming that the Commissioner's warrant was paramount to Judge Parker's authority; and here this question of supremacy was then left. Ohio, like Pennsylvania, was disgraced and subdued, and she quietly submitted. During the last Winter a most favourable opportunity offered which the slaveholders eagerly embraced to secure a repetition of this decision.

Among the hundreds of fugitives who passed the Ohio river last Winter in search of freedom, was the heroic and noble woman, Margaret Garner, with her family.

It is not necessary particularly to recapitulate her history. It will be recollected that after crossing to Cincinnati, Margaret and her children were seized as the slaves of Archibald K. Gaines, and her husband with his parents, as the slaves of Wm. Marshall, both of Kentucky. After a protracted trial, in which it appeared clear to all, except the kidnappers and the Commissioner, that Margaret, her husband, her mother-in-law and her children were entitled to their freedom, from the fact that, these adults had been brought previously to Ohio, they were all adjudged the slaves of their respective claimants. To save her children from the horrors of slavery, which from experience, Margaret knew how to appreciate, she attempted to take the lives of her children, and was successful in the case of the eldest, a little girl of unusual beauty of form and features. During the progress of the trial, all the adults of the party were, after some resistance by the Commissioner and United States Marshal, taken also in custody by the Sheriff of Hamilton County, to answer for the alleged murder of the child, before Judge Carter of the Criminal Court. Judge Burgoyne of the Probate Court, also issued a writ of habeas corpus in behalf of the three surviving children. While these proceedings before the State Courts were pending, and the alleged slaves in the possession of the Sheriff, the Marshal, to regain their custody, procured writs of habeas corpus for the adults from Judge Leavitt of the United

LETTER FROM SAMUEL MAY, Jr.

To the Editors of The Standard.

As I have recently made a visit for anti-slavery purposes to Chester and Lancaster Counties, Pa., I would gladly express in your columns the high satisfaction I had in making the acquaintance of many of the Abolitionists of these Counties, and in witnessing their earnest devotion to the Anti-Slavery cause.

I went into Pennsylvania by invitation of the Clarkson Anti-Slavery Society—the oldest Anti-Slavery Society in the country, I believe, based upon the principle of *immediate* emancipation—older even than the New England Societies. Pennsylvania, indeed, enjoys the high honour of being the first State, after the adoption of the Federal Constitution, to organize a Society for the Abolition of Slavery. It was that Society of which Benjamin Franklin and Benjamin Rush were prominent members, Franklin being its first President. As such, he affixed his name to the first memorial on the subject of slavery ever presented to the Congress of the United States—which was also the last public act of his own life. As the biographers of Franklin, Sparks not excepted, omit or pass slightly over these important facts in Franklin's life—the editors of the *Encyclopædia Americana* basely suppressing them altogether—I will ask you, Messrs. Editors, to give insertion here to a paragraph extracted from the said memorial, and signed, BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, President of "the Pennsylvania Society for promoting the Abolition of Slavery, the relief of free Negroes unlawfully held in bondage, and the improvement of the condition of the African race." It is as follows, and in your paper may meet the eye of some who never saw it before:

"From a persuasion that *equal liberty* was originally the portion, and is still the birth-right of *all men*; and influenced by the strong ties of humanity, and the principles of their institutions, your memorialists conceive themselves bound to use all justifiable endeavours to loosen the bonds of slavery, and promote a general enjoyment of the blessings of freedom. Under these impressions, they earnestly entreat your serious attention to the subject of slavery; that you will be pleased to countenance the restoration of liberty to those unhappy men, who, alone in this land of freedom, are degraded into perpetual bondage; and who, amidst the general joy of surrounding freemen, are groaning in servile subjection; that you will devise means for removing this inconsistency from the character of the American people; that you will promote mercy and justice towards this distressed race, and that you will step to the *very verge* of the power vested in you for discouraging every species of traffic in the persons of our fellow-men."

This memorial was presented to Congress Feb. 12, 1790.

But from this digression, which, however, is more apparent than real, I return to the subject of my letter.

Chester and Lancaster Counties have, for more than a quarter of a century, been one of the most prominent fields of the anti-slavery contest, and the residence of some of the truest spirits who have ever been called to espouse the cause of suffering and outraged humanity. Some of these are no longer on earth—among whom we cannot fail to name one but recently departed, LINDLEY COATES; but the places of these are taken by others who, we do not doubt, are filled with their spirit, and who have entered into their labours. These Counties have also been in the direct track of thousands of fugitive slaves; and many a heroic deed has there been done, in their behalf, and at great personal hazard and often loss and suffering to the doers, the story of which will never be told among men. But the record is not lost.

My first meeting was on Sunday, August 10, at Eastlandhall. This place is in Little Britain Township, Lancaster County, and about two miles from the Maryland line. I had quite a large, intelligent and attentive audience. I spoke a second time in the same Township, at Asheville, but, the afternoon being rainy, the meeting was very small. I next spoke at Homeville, in Oxford; West Grove, in London Grove; and at New Garden, Lyceum Hall. On Sunday the 17th, I addressed a large and most interesting audience—one which it was worth a long journey to see—at the Progressive Friends' meeting-house at Longwood. Here my subject was the Idolatry of the American People; their idolatry of the UNION, which they worship with blind devotion, which they prefer before God, which they exalt to the highest place, at whose imperious demands they cast down the laws of the Most High and trample them under their feet, and on whose bloody altars thousands and tens of thousands of human victims are yearly offered up. My next appointment was at Ercildoun; but as the meeting had not been notified, and the weather was very unpropitious, no lecture was given—the only failure to hold a meeting according to the arrangements made for me. Then followed lectures at Doe Run meeting-house, and at East Lampeter meeting-house. On Saturday I attended the Quarterly Meeting of the Clarkson Anti-Slavery Society at Christiana. It was quite well attended, and the discussions were spirited. I was much impressed, from what I saw at this meeting, of the value of the Clarkson Society and of their stated meetings. They cannot fail to have a most salutary effect in the places where held, and their influence on the members themselves is not to be overlooked. May all such instrumentalities be cheerfully and unanimously sustained until the work is done, and

"Slavery itself shall pass away,
And be a tale of yesterday."

My closing meeting was at Bart Friends' meeting-house—a largely attended and deeply interesting meeting—on Sunday, Aug. 24, in which Thomas Whitson, of Christians, and Mahlon B. Linton, of Bucks Co., also took part.

I found *politics* running high, and the words on nearly every tongue were Fremont, Buchanan, Fillmore. I judged, from what I heard and saw, that the vote of Chester County would be, by an overwhelming majority, for Col. Fremont; and that Lancaster County (the native County and the residence of Mr. Buchanan) would give a very considerable majority against Buchanan and for Fremont.

Under the blood-stained and pro-slavery United States Constitution I cannot be a voter. I cannot consent to do so mean, degrading and wicked an act as to become an accomplice of slaveholders and slave-dealers. I will not stain my soul with an oath to keep the constitutional compromise with them; I will not consent to their having a representation for their slave-property, and, by those representations, making laws for Massachusetts and the North; I will not agree that their fugitive bondmen shall be delivered up to them; I will not agree that Northern men and money shall be pledged to suppress the slaves' attempts to recover for themselves their *inalienable right to liberty*—their BIRTH-RIGHT, as Franklin called it. And I will not be a voluntary and active member of a *union* with slaveholders, and with the most bloody, cruel and abandoned creatures which anywhere wear the human form.

With these views I could not, of course, participate in the political excitement around me, nor counsel the voting for any man who would take the oath to the United States Constitution. While cheerfully conceding the superiority of the aims of the Fremont party and the better spirit which actuates a large proportion of its members, I could not, after all, see any *essential* difference between their position and that of the supporters of Buchanan and Fillmore. All are glorifying this UNION. All are pledged to keep the constitutional compromises with the slaveholders, and none more constantly or vociferously than the Republican party; and, considering their avowed convictions and their loud professions on the subject of slavery, I must regard them as the most inconsistent party of the three, and as violating their own virtual pledges to the world the most glaringly. They are all, therefore, co-partners with slaveholders; and, by their oath to the Constitution, they "consent with thieves and have become partakers with adulterers." When such is the inevitable position of our country, our Government, and of our political parties, I have but one course for my feet. "O my soul, come not thou into their secret; unto their assembly, mine honour, be not thou united!"

With these convictions, I could not but deeply lament to see some, who, for years, have maintained the upright and steadfast posture of "No Union with Slaveholders," and refused to stain their hands with a ballot, now falling back from this high and instructive position, and yielding to the temptation to mingle in the political strife. Greatly rejoiced, on the other hand, I was to find others who had not swerved, who declared they "felt no temptation" to swerve, and who resolutely were maintaining the imperative duty, the wise and safe policy, of dissolving this pro-slavery Union.

In all my lectures I presented, as clearly and strongly as I was able, the *sinfulness* of our union with slaveholders, and endeavoured to show not only the *right* of the people to dissolve it—for that is obvious enough—but their *duty* to do it, and that this duty is far from being the quixotic and impracticable thing which some pretend. I showed this to be *the only remedy* for the multiplied evils in which our union with slaveholders has so deeply and (otherwise) inextricably involved us; that it will not only absolve us of the North from the blood-guiltiness which now is upon us, but that it will, beyond all peradventure, ENSURE the speedy deliverance of the slave; and that, too, with less of violence and bloodshed than under any other circumstances can be the case. I maintained that all the remedies which politicians are now seeking to apply, are wholly insufficient and inadequate, and can never reach near to the plague-spot of our people; that they are all but tampering with the mighty evil, unwilling or afraid to approach it with resolute spirits and steady hands—that they all do but "film and skin the ulcerous spot," while the inward contagion is spreading more fiercely and visibly every day. I exhorted all to place their reliance upon higher agencies and weapons than those which political parties employ, and that no anti-slavery man should throw away his consistency, nor impair the force of his past words and example by becoming a political partisan, especially if it commits him to the least recognition of the slaveholder's *rights* in this country or Government. In presenting these and kindred views, I was frequently drawn into discussions—always courteous and gentlemanly, with a single exception, which hardly needs to be mentioned. I have reason to think that some were convinced of the soundness and wisdom of the position of the AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, and others confirmed in their love and adherence to it.

The genuine, substantial, unostentatious hospitality of the Abolitionists of Pennsylvania—so far as it was my privilege to get acquainted with them—must not pass without my grateful acknowledgments. The Whitsons, the Moores, the Russells, the Coateses, the Hambletons, the Conards, the Haineses, the Pennocks, Darlingtons, Coxes, Dugdales, Pierces, and many more, will long live in my memory. The cause which is so near to their hearts, and which has taken so strong a hold upon such natures cannot fail. With affectionate greeting to them all, and with my apologies to you, Messrs. Editors, for my too long letter, I lay down my pen.

SAMUEL MAY, JR.

Leicester, Sept. 14, 1856.

MR. BURLINGAME IN BOSTON.—The city "was shaken," says the *Boston Telegraph* of Saturday, "like a young earthquake last evening. A more enthusiastic gathering was never seen in Boston." It was to receive Mr. Burlingame on his return from Washington. *The Telegraph* fills several columns with a report of the speeches, the progress and composition of the procession, the fireworks, the triumphal banners, the enthusiasm of the people, making altogether a scene—to quote our contemporary again—"unimaginably spirited and beautiful."

If it would not be considered impertinent, might an "outsider" inquire of the Boston Republicans, or the Boston people,—whoever it was that originated and participated in this splendid fete—the particular motive thereof? Is it that the old Puritan spirit rises up to bless her public servant, because, as long as he could he avoided a duel? Or is it for just the opposite reason, and admiration is excited because he determined, at last, to answer in that manner for words spoken in debate? Were they really thus serious about it? and if so, to which side did the public feeling incline? Or was it only for the fun of the thing, heightened by a grim satisfaction that all this parade was fo the man who made that subtle, Pickwickian distinction between Mr. Brooks and Mr. Brook's act, denouncing this as base, brutal and cowardly to the last degree, but avowing his recognition of the man who did it as a brave and high-spirited gentleman?

We would not be thought censorious, but might we be indulged in a question or two more? If they receive Mr. Burlingame in this magnificent way, what sort of a welcome will they have left for Senator Sumner? If the man, who was merely threatened with a danger of his own—not over-wise—seeking, is worthy of such an ovation, how will they express their sense of the honour due to him who was almost murdered, in their service, by a cowardly assassin? And when they had got Mr. Burlingame fairly locked up on a two-story balcony, beyond the possibility of escape, why did they not ask him how he happened to suppose that he was paired off with anybody, and so become one of the four by the loss of whose vote the Kansas proviso to the Army Bill was lost? And would n't it have been well to tell him, at the same propitious moment, that there are times when the blunders of public men are no better than crimes; and that he must take better care next time, or something else than a barouche and four white horses would await him on his return to Boston?

And finally, not to put too fine a point on it, and become tedious as well as impertinent, will Boston permit us to believe that she has, on this occasion, chosen to indulge herself with a lapse into an old and chronic habit of committing absurdities, and being for her own, and other people's amusement just "as funny as she can?"

MORE CHIVALRY.

THE *Cheraw* (S. C.) *Gazette* of the 7th inst. brings a report of a public meeting held in that place, on that day, to take into consideration the case of two unhappy pedlars who had, it seems, conducted themselves in a manner dangerous to the peace and safety of that State, while travelling in it in pursuit of their lawful calling. As simple banishment was the punishment inflicted, the offence probably was nothing more heinous than some idle talk. It is certainly difficult to conceive of a state of society where such acts are necessary to preserve its good order. Do these people fear each other or their slaves? In either case they must live in an extremity of terror if they really believe that the unguarded conversation of travelling pedlars could so work upon the enemies of the State as to arouse them to rebellion and massacre. But if they do *not* believe it, and have no such fears, how is it possible that they can sustain so long so high-strung an hypocrisy, such tremendous pretences of an imaginary danger? The inclination of our own belief is that nature is gradually producing a new variety of the human family in South Carolina to be distinguished from all others by the utter want of all moral qualities except those which distinguish the fool and the coward. See what one of these hybrids says, in the *Cheraw Gazette*, of this transaction:

"The reader is referred to the proceedings of a public meeting of the citizens of Cheraw and vicinity, held in the Town Hall on Monday last. On no other occasion have we ever witnessed so large an assemblage of citizens in a public meeting. The calm, cool, deliberate and determined spirit manifested, indicated beyond mistake that the subject matter for consideration was of no ordinary character, and the result of its proceedings are conclusive upon that point.

"Our peculiar social position, assailed as it is by wild and blood-thirsty fanaticism, requires the sleepless vigilance of every citizen; and the indications from the proceedings of Monday's meeting most clearly demonstrate that every one comprehends his duties and responsibilities, and is prepared to shoulder the one in the discharge of the other. Incendiaries have been prowling about the country under various disguises, and have no doubt sown the seed of much evil, but hence they must avoid this vicinity or take the consequences.

"No doubt the proceedings of this meeting will call forth many a wild 'shriek' for liberty. Be it so. But those who take the liberty to send the incendiary with his torch into our midst, should not complain of our exercising the same prerogative in self-defence. We hope the example set by our citizens will be followed up throughout the South. Indeed, nothing short of the most determined course of action can rid the country of these minions, of Northern incendiarism."

The following is the report of the meeting referred to:

In consequence of information laid before Col. W. L. T. Prince, Intendant of the Town, in regard to the incendiary character of language uttered by one John Malone, a public meeting of the citizens was called, to be held at 12 1-2 o'clock, p. m., this day.

At the hour appointed, a large number of citizens assembled, and the meeting was organized by the appointment of Hon. Thos. E. Powe, Chairman, and M. H. H. Duvall, Secretary.

The Chairman, in a lucid and eloquent manner, explained the object of the meeting. He was followed by Col. W. L. T. Prince, in a few forcible and eloquent remarks. Whereupon, on motion of James Powell, Esq., the Chair was authorized to appoint a Committee of ten, to examine the witnesses and report to an adjourned meeting, at 5 o'clock, p. m., what action the meeting should take in the premises. The Chair appointed the following gentlemen to serve on said Committee: James Powell, John A. Inglis, Rev. A. Gregg, W. L. T. Prince, J. A. Moore, F. Turner, John T. Coit, Dr. S. D. Sanders, George McIver and Zack Ellerbe, Jr.

The meeting was then addressed by John A. Inglis, Esq., in his usual eloquent and forcible manner; also by Col. W. L. T. Prince.

On motion, a Committee of three was appointed by the Chair to take charge of the said John Malone, until the reassembling of the meeting. The meeting then adjourned until 5 o'clock, p. m.

At the appointed hour an unusually large number of citizens assembled at the Town Hall, to hear the report of the Committee. The Committee, through John A Inglis, Esq., submitted the following report and recommendation, prefaced by a few pertinent remarks:

"The Committee to whom was referred the duty of investigating the charges against John Malone, unanimously report that they have examined witnesses, and had the accused before them, and are satisfied that James Caldwell, the employer, and John Malone, the employé of said Caldwell, *are foreigners, having no sympathy with our peculiar social organization, that they entertain and have expressed publicly opinions hostile to the institution of slavery*, and dangerous to the peace and good order of this community; that they have been seen conversing, on various occasions, with negro slaves, under circumstances calculated to excite suspicions of their purposes; and that their continued residence among us will be inconsistent with our safety.

"In view of these facts the Committee recommend that the citizens at their present meeting take prompt measures *to send Caldwell and Malone from the Southern country*, and that their proceedings, with a minute description of their persons, be extensively published in the newspapers in the Southern States as a caution against their mischievous influence."

On motion, the report and recommendations of the Committee were unanimously adopted.

The meeting was addressed by John A. Inglis, Esq., Col. W. L. T Prince, and Major John T. Coit; whereupon, on motion of John A. Inglis, Esq., the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

"*Resolved*, That the Chair appoint a Committee of six gentlemen, whose duty it is to take the said Caldwell and Malone in charge; take them to the port of Wilmington, North Carolina, and ship them to some Northern port. The following gentlemen were appointed a Committee to carry out the foregoing resolution, to wit: J. G. Medlin, J. G. Pervis, J. R. Malley, J. B. Strother, Zack Ellerbe, Jr., and Dr. J. W. Gulick."

On motion, the chair appointed the following gentlemen, W. Allen Benton, Thomas Tomlinson, Jr., James F. Drake, A. A. Cox and M. R. McLelland, a Committee to take charge of the said Caldwell and Malone, and them safely keep and deliver to the above named Committee on the departure of the train.

On motion it was resolved that the Town Council be requested to provide the necessary funds to defray the expenses incurred by the Committee.

On motion, the meeting then adjourned.

THOMAS E. POWE, Chairman.

M. H. H. DUVALL, Secretary.

Cheraw, S. C. Sept. 10, 1856.

James Caldwell, *alias* Connell, *alias* Dempsey, is an Irishman with a liberal share of the brogue. He says he is 22 years of age, is about 5 feet 10 inches high, black hair and eyes, sallow complexion, and of medium size. His occupation while here was the selling of window shades. Packages to him were addressed to James Dempsey.

John Malone is also an Irishman, with jet black hair, beard and eyes, dark complexion, he is but little over five feet in height, quite stoop shouldered, and very glib with the tongue. Last, though not least, he is a thoroughgoing Black Republican, free speech, free soil, *free negro*, Fremont, *Dimocrat*. His occupation was a window-shade pedlar.

Of the final result the *Cheraw Gazette* disposes in this happy manner with a mind relieved:

SINGULAR SHIPMENT.—It will be seen that the meeting of Monday made an unusual shipment—to wit: Messrs. Caldwell & Malone, from Cheraw to some Northern port. We suppose when the Committee returns, as an evidence that it has faithfully discharged its duty, it will produce a bill of lading, something after the following form:

To be delivered at the *Tribune* Office.

F. F. F. N. & F.

Shipped in good order and condition, by the Committee on board the schooner ——, whereof ——, is master for the present voyage, now lying in the Port of Wilmington and bound for New York—To say: Two bundles Northern incendiarism, marked to the care of Horace Greeley of the New York *Tribune*; contents unknown. Being marked and numbered as in the margin; to be delivered in the like good order and condition, at the aforesaid port of New York, the dangers of the sea only excepted, unto the said Horace Greeley, or his assigns, he or they paying the freight for the said bundles, at the rate of a steerage passage, with primage and average accustomed.

In witness whereof, the master of said schooner has affirmed to two bills of lading all of this tenor and date, &c., &c.

Dated Wilmington, September, 1856.

——, Captain.

KANSAS.—The news from Kansas, the past week, has been as usual, of late, crowded with new atrocities. Column after column of the daily papers are filled with letters from regular, occasional, and private correspondents, some detailing public calamity and outrage, others relating scenes of private wrong and suffering. It is utterly beyond the space we can afford to copy the half of this intelligence, for a weekly paper cannot give the details of a civil war. The best we can do is to give the latest news at the time of our going to press. It is as follows by telegraph:

LAWRENCE, Sept. 10, 1856.

After a contest of two days the State prisoners have been admitted to bail by Judge Lecompte, and are to-night with us. It is not believed they will ever be tried.

Governor Geary is in Leavenworth, and will be here to-morrow. We are cheered by his arrival. He promises to drive every marauder from Kansas who is not an actual resident, and says he will call to his aid one thousand United States troops, and fifty thousand volunteers from the North, if necessary.

Capt. Emery's banditti band near Leavenworth arrested an officer of the army yesterday, for which Emery's whole company were brought before General Smith.

Rev. Mr. Nute is with us to-night.

We have had a jubilee of rejoicing—public speaking in the street from the prisoners for three hours.

Col. Whipple's regiment captured a party of thieves at Osanke yesterday, and took eighty horses.

We will complete a fort to-morrow on Mount Orlan, that will accommodate one thousand men.

A GOOD TRACT.—Joseph H. Ladd, 22 Beekman street, has published a valuable tract entitled "The Pope's Bull, and The Words of Daniel O'Connell." The Bull is that of Pope Gregory XVI. issued in 1839, with which all earlier Abolitionists are familiar, and which pains were taken, at the time it was issued, to get before the Catholics of this country. As a campaign tract it will do much good, at least in showing to American Catholics that the Head of the Church emphatically condemns American Slavery.

"The Words of O'Connell" are taken from his famous reply to the Cincinnati Irish Repeal Association which had published a defence of Slavery. It is a strong and eloquent appeal, as many of our readers will remember, to the Irish in this country to "come out of the councils of the slaveowners," to free themselves from "participating in their guilt," to do all they could to bring public opinion to bear upon that "hideous crime, personal Slavery," and to give their votes "to none but those who will assist in so holy a struggle." It was considered a very fanatical and mischievous document, except where it was held to be an abolition lie, a dozen years ago, but, like a good deal of other old anti-slavery thunder, will probably do good service now.

CALIFORNIA.—The last mail from California brings intelligence of the final adjournment of the Vigilance Committee, their retiring from office and the completion of their labours being commemorated by themselves and their friends by a public celebration. Judge Terry, their last prisoner was released, the man whom he had stabbed, and for the attack on whom he was arrested, having recovered. Some dissatisfaction existed among the friends of the Committee that they had permitted this scoundrel Terry, notorious as a fighter and stabber, to escape, but it seemed to be at length conceded that they had acted wisely.

It is denied at Washington that any new orders had been sent to San Francisco by the last mail. It is acknowledged however that instructions were sent to Commodore Mervine and Gen. Wool, to protect the officers and property of the United States, but nothing more, and that such instructions had been sent before. If this last statement be true, it is not easy to understand the necessity of so soon repeating the orders. It is of little consequence now, however, what has and what has not been sent, as the Committee has voluntary retired from office, after having brought the officers of the State Government and the other villians to good behaviour.

PRESIDENTIAL RUMOR.—The *Philadelphia Bulletin* of the 11th. has the following paragraph:

"It is stated that Mr. Breckinridge really made a proposition to Mr. Buchanan at the Wheatlands yesterday, on the subject of his withdrawal. The plan is to get Mr. Donelson also to withdraw, and unite the Democratic and the American tickets in the persons of Fillmore and Breckinridge. Such a ticket, Mr. Breckinridge thinks, will be likely to succeed against Fremont and Dayton. What is to be done about the two platforms does not appear. Nor have we learned what response Mr. Buchanan made to the proposition."

The story has not been contradicted, but even if true it is not likely that the proposition was acceptable to Mr. Buchanan. The amusing part of it is the modesty of the slave-driving candidate Breckinridge, who chose himself as the half of the split-ticket which it was best to preserve. It was characteristic of Southern insolence, though the wonder is that he did not name himself for the Presidency on the new ticket.

MRS. STOWE'S NEW NOVEL.—The long-expected and anxiously waited-for "Dred" is, at length, in everybody's hands. We have not as yet found time to open it, and as it is one of these books in which we are not disposed to exercise the editorial privilege of criticising without reading, we have—if that is of any consequence—no opinion to give of it. Criticised or not, it will not want for readers. The first edition for this country, we are told is one hundred thousand copies, and some delay has occurred in the publication, from the absolute necessity of printing so large a number to supply the first demand. We presume it is, at this moment, for sale in every respectable bookstore in the country within a weeks' travel of Boston.

Among the many places where it may be had, in this city, is the store of Samuel S. & William Wood, No. 389 Broadway.

THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE PENNSYLVANIA ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY is to be held this year in Norristown. The time fixed for it is the 16th of October. It will be an important meeting, and will doubtless be largely attended. WM. LLOYD GARRISON and PARKER PILLSBURY are to be there, and other able speakers from different parts of the country are expected.

From our Cincinnati Correspondent.

CINCINNATI, Sept. 10, 1856.

THERE exists no longer any doubt as to the erection of a Suspension Bridge over the Ohio river, connecting Cincinnati with Covington. The work was commenced last week and hundreds of labourers are now employed on both sides of the river making the excavations for the foundations of the towers on which the wires are to rest. These will be very heavy, and one hundred and sixty feet in height from the base; and built as near as possible to the edge of the water at a low stage. The river being now very low the work will be pushed with energy that the towers may be built above all danger of an overflow at the time of the Winter or Spring floods. The estimated cost of the bridge is $600,000, of which upwards of one-half has been subscribed. Stock is still being taken, and will be more readily when capitalists see the work in progress. The bridge in the centre is to be at least 60 feet above high water-mark, and therefore will not interfere with navigation. Mr. J. A. Roebling, architect of the Niagara Suspension Bridge, is to superintend the work, which is to be completed in three years.

When finished, this will probably be the finest work of Art of this kind in the Union. The ice and Spring floods of the Ohio would carry away the piers of any structure built upon the old plan, but a suspension bridge built in the very best manner, it is thought, will avoid these difficulties.

The amount of travel and traffic between Ohio and Kentucky, at this point, has increased so much of late years that a bridge may be said to be one of the necessities of the times. The completion of the Lexington and Covington Railroad a year since has greatly increased the commerce between the two States. The Kentucky farmers in past years have cultivated mainly hemp and tobacco, but being now brought within a few hours of this city by Railroad, they are turning their attention more to the raising of wheat and other grain, large quantities of which are now brought across the river. This railroad will doubtless prove a benefit to Kentucky, but so far has been of quite as much importance to Cincinnati. There is in Covington little capital, and no wholesale business apart from Cincinnati, and Kentucky farmers and merchants, even those who live nearer to Louisville, come here to trade in preference. Louisville and Covington having a small slave population comparatively, and devoting much attention to commercial pursuits, have advanced much more rapidly than Lexington and other places situated in a dense slave population, and yet, compared with this city, Louisville makes feeble progress. The mobs of 1855 have done her much injury; property and business have not recovered from the shock, and though lower upon the river than this city and not incommoded so much by ice or low water, her steamboat commerce bears no comparison to the Queen City.

The Cincinnati Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, a year or two since, projected an institution of a high order for the education of coloured youth, and the enterprise has been pushed with such energy that it is rendered certain that the College will before long go into operation. The ground with buildings has been purchased in Greene Co., Ohio, near the Yellow Springs, the first payment on the property has been made, and measures adopted to commence instruction in a few months. The "African Methodist Church" are aiding in the enterprise, and, judging from the interest taken in education of late years by the Methodists, and their well-known perseverance in all they undertake, there can be no doubt of the success of the institution. It is to be open to both sexes, either for a partial or thorough collegiate course, and especial attention will be given to training the students for professional teachers, that they may be qualified to go wherever their services may be needed, to impart to their own race a thorough education.

Some of your ardent Abolitionists who object, on principle, to separate schools may find fault with this plan, and the College at Oberlin and others of less celebrity may be adduced to prove the success and consequent expediency of mixed schools. The Methodists, as a body, even in the North, it must be confessed, retain many of the prejudices of education against "a coloured skin," and are disposed to accommodate themselves to the existing laws and public sentiment instead of striving to change them. And yet I cannot but approve of this enterprise as a step, and an important one, in the right direction. It virtually gives up the Old Colonization plea, that it is of no use to endeavour to elevate the coloured man here, and that he must be sent to Africa where alone he can become intelligent and respected. No plea is made for Colonization by the founders of this institution, but the fact admitted that we must educate the coloured people here among us and give them the *best* education. This must elevate them, increase their self-respect and standing in society, and enlarge the field of their occupations. As to the institution being under Methodist influence it may be said that the large majority of the coloured people of the West are of that persuasion, and it will be as little sectarian, judging from their institutions of learning, as if controlled by any other sect. Then, Methodists are giving the funds. If they will not do the work of education in our way, let us rejoice that they are doing it at all. Let the coloured people become intelligent, and they will be more likely to think and act aright upon every subject, and lay judicious plans to attain all their natural rights. Success to every movement for their mental and moral improvement.

Yours, &c., P.

MISS MARTINEAU.—The medical attendant of Miss Harriet Martineau writes as follows to the editor of the *Derwentwater Journal*. There are many persons among our readers who will hear with great concern, though not with surprise, this official testimony to the fact that the useful life of this distinguished woman is drawing to a close.

"In a paragraph which appears in your paper of yesterday, it is stated that Miss Martineau, the celebrated authoress, had lately visited Cockermouth. As it is evidently meant to refer to Mrs. H. Martineau, of the Knoll, who has been unable, in consequence of severe illness, to go beyond the porch of her house during the last fifteen months, I will thank you to contradict the report in your next publication. Her increasing infirmity makes it desirable that she should not be disturbed by the visits of strangers, who are misled by your report to suppose that her health has been restored."

THE REV. HENRY WARD BEECHER has taken the stump for Fremont, and has spoken at several places in the course of this week. He intends, we hear, to make a campaign into Pennsylvania.

The Rev. Mr. Frothingham, of Jersey City, made a speech at a Ward Club meeting, a few evenings since, in this city, at the request of personal friends, but we have not heard that he intends to enter the arena as a political speaker.

ANTI-SLAVERY TRACTS.

THE Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society have issued the following Tracts for gratuitous distribution:

No. 1. THE UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION, EXAMINED.
No. 2. WHITE SLAVERY IN THE UNITED STATES.
No. 3. COLONIZATION. By Rev. O. B. Frothingham.
No. 4. DOES SLAVERY CHRISTIANIZE THE NEGRO? By Rev. T. W. Higginson.
No. 5. THE INTER-STATE SLAVE TRADE. By John G. Palfrey.
No. 6. THE "RUIN" OF JAMAICA. By Richard Hildreth.
No. 7. REVOLUTION THE ONLY REMEDY FOR SLAVERY.
No. 8. TO MOTHERS IN THE FREE STATES. By MRS. E. L. Follen.
No. 9. INFLUENCE OF SLAVERY UPON THE WHITE POPULATION. By a Lady.
No. 10. SLAVERY AND THE NORTH. By C. C. Burleigh.
No. 11. DISUNION OUR WISDOM AND OUR DUTY. By Rev. Charles E. Hodges.
No. 12. ANTI-SLAVERY HYMNS AND SONGS. By MRS. E. L. Follen.
No. 13. THE TWO ALTARS; OR, TWO PICTURES IN ONE. By MRS. Harriet B. Stowe.
No. 14. "HOW CAN I HELP TO ABOLISH SLAVERY?" OR, COUNSELS TO THE NEWLY CONVERTED. By Maria W. Chapman.
No. 15. WHAT HAVE WE, AS INDIVIDUALS, TO DO WITH SLAVERY? By Susan C. Cabot.
No. 16. THE AMERICAN TRACT SOCIETY; AND ITS POLICY OF SUPPRESSION AND SILENCE. Being the Unanimous Remonstrance of the Fourth Congregational Society, Hartford, Ct.
No. 17. THE GOD OF THE BIBLE AGAINST SLAVERY. By Rev. Charles Beecher.
No. 18. THE FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW AND ITS VICTIMS.
No. 19. RELATIONS OF ANTI-SLAVERY TO RELIGION. By Charles K. Whipple.

All donations for the Tract Fund, or for the circulation of any particular Tract of the above series, should be sent to FRANCIS JACKSON, Treasurer of the American Anti-Slavery Society, 21 Cornhill, Boston.

Fifty dollars will stereotype an eight-page tract, and print *five thousand copies of it.*

Application for the above Tracts, for gratuitous distribution, should be made to SAMUEL MAY, JR., 21 Cornhill, Boston; to the Anti-Slavery Offices, 138 Nassau street, New York, and 31 North Fifth street, Philadelphia; to JOEL MCMILLAN, Salem, Columbiana Co., Ohio; or to JACOB WALTON, Jr., Adrian, Michigan.

REPUBLICAN STATE NOMINATION.

THE Republicans at the Convention at Syracuse, on Wednesday, nominated John R. King for Governor, and Henry B. Selden for Lieutenant-Governor of this State. The choice is likely to be a very popular one.

Summary.

"AN ACTUAL SETTLER."—The Maine election is what they call out West "an actual settler."

THE CAUSE OF THAT SQUEAL.—Prentice, in a notice of Choate's letter, says: "Politically, he is 'a poor Shote' (he must pardon our adoption of the original family orthography). One might think from the doleful tones he utters, that instead of getting to one side of the fence, he had got hung in it."

Professor Hare, who is lecturing on Spiritualism at Saratoga, declares that the spirits are unanimously in favour of the election of Fillmore to the Presidency, and think that the institution of slavery should be perpetuated! It is a cheering fact [an exchange says] that Fillmore has a large party somewhere, for there is a regular stampede among his supporters in this sphere.

REPUBLICANS MOBBED IN BALTIMORE.—An attempt was made to hold a meeting in Baltimore, on Thursday evening of last week, to appoint a Fremont Republican electoral ticket for Maryland. But soon after the organization a crowd of men and boys forced their way into the room, and *drove out the Republicans assembled there.* Messrs. Cochrane, Gunnison and Meredith, the principal parties to the meeting, were chased several squares by the mob, and were forced to take refuge in a store from their assailants. Several others had to make their escape out of the back window of the hall.

The *Herald's* correspondent at Philadelphia writes that the vestry of the Church of the Epiphany, in that city, of which the Rev. Dudley Tyng is rector, held a meeting on the evening of the 2d inst., and requested him to resign the pastorship, which he incontinently refused to do, at the same time expressing a wish to take the vote of the congregation on the question, believing that he would be sustained by a majority. It is said that not more than fifty persons attended the church on Sunday last, and those few were principally ladies. The Doctor, it will be recollected, has recently indulged himself in freely expressing his political predilections in the pulpit.

A New York correspondent of the Ausburg *Gazette* gives the following intelligence of prominent political refugees, who have found an asylum in the United States:

Hecker, with his family, lives at Belleville, on a large farm. He and his wife are not satisfied with their condition.

Brentano is editor of a newspaper somewhere in the North. His wife, whom he left behind, lives in Eberbach, Germany.

Struve resides mostly in New York, and tries to make a living by literary occupations.

Kinkel keeps a public-house in New York and is doing well.

Siegel, with his father and brother, is in the tobacco trade.

Rindeschwender is nowhere. The last time we met him he was very destitute.

Richter is a brewer, at his brother's, in New York.

Welcker administers physic to New Yorkers, but has scarcely any practice.

Tiedemann is a physician in Philadelphia, and prospers.

Rev. Mr. Conway, of Washington, the distinguished anti-slavery Unitarian, preached in Newport yesterday. Mr. C., although a native of Virginia, questions the divinity of negro slavery; and for this heresy, the members of his church are now deliberating whether they will again hear him. Rev. George D. Boardman, a young Baptist divine of superior culture and promise—late of South Carolina, also preached in Newport yesterday. Before he left home he mildly expressed some doubt whether the clubbing of Senators is in accordance with the teachings of the New Testament; and, for so heinous a sin, he has been advised by his church that it will be unsafe for him to return to that "land of the free and the home of the brave." We hope the mob in Newport allowed these reverend gentlemen to go to and from the churches in which they ministered without stoning them.—*Providence Journal.*

Early yesterday afternoon [says the *Lafayette* (Ia.) *Journal*] a small crowd at the Bramble House corner were gathered around a plain-looking countryman who was reading from a small hand-bill or circular, containing in substance the letter of "J. D. D.," as published in the *Journal* a few days since. The letter, as our readers will remember, is addressed to James B. Clay, the "degenerate son of a noble Sire," who now fraternizes with the "bounds" who pursued his illustrious Father to the very threshold of the grave. As the countryman was reading, Mr. Clay, who is stopping at the Bramble, hearing his name spoken, approached the crowd, and, interrupting the reading, inquired what it was. "Why," said the countryman, who, of course, had no idea that he was in the presence of the distinguished gentleman himself, "it's a mighty good thing on that prodigal, Jim Clay, who's been bought up by the old liners to come over and help Indiana." "Is d—d good," said he, warming up with the subject. Clay straightened himself up pompously and with an annihilating emphasis and imperious gesture replied, "I AM JAMES B. CLAY, SIR!" The countryman nothing abashed by the "plantation manner" of the august individual in whose presence he thus unexpectedly found himself, coolly surveyed him from head to foot and placing his thumbs in his vest, threw himself back *a la* Clay, and assuming as near as possible his tone and gesture, responded: "THE H—L YOU ARE!" and quietly added, "I had no idea the old sinck was quite so near run out." The manner of the countryman was inimitable, and the joke so broad, that the whole crowd, old liners and all, joined in the laugh and Clay beat a retreat.

DIED.

CAPRON.—In Worcester, Mass., Aug. 21, Lydia B. Capron, wife of Effingham L. Capron, aged 51.

DONATIONS.

Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society,	$400 00
Francis Jackson, Boston (pledge),	200 00
Samuel May, Jr., " "	20 00
Collections in Pennsylvania and Ohio, by Samuel May, Jr.	
J. C. Taylor, Eastlandhall, Pa.,	50
Mary Walton, Homeville, "	1 00
Friends at " "	85
Friends at New Garden, "	65
Friends at West Grove, "	1 50
George Baker, W. Marlboro', Pa.,	2 00
Mary Way, "	25
Clarkson Anti-Slavery Society, for services and travelling expenses,	46 00
Western A. S. Society,	20 50
Ladies' A. S. Society, Salem, Mass., for One Hundred Conventions,	20 00

Special Notices.

☞ CONVENTION AT NEW BEDFORD.—An Anti-Slavery Convention will be held at NEW BEDFORD, on Saturday and Sunday, Sept. 20 and 21, commencing Saturday evening, and continued through the following day and evening. C. L. REMOND and WM. WELLS BROWN will be present, and take part in the proceedings. Let there be a general turnout.

☞ SIXTH NATIONAL WOMAN'S RIGHTS CONVENTION.—In this epoch of political and social excitement, the advocacies of Equal Rights of Woman find new reason to proclaim again their constant demand for a consistent application of democratic principles, for the emancipation not alone of one class or one nation, but of one half the human race.

We accordingly invite

All who believe that Government derives its just powers from the consent of the governed;

All who believe that Taxation and Representation should go together;

All who believe in the right of all to a Trial by a Jury of their Peers;

All who believe in a fair day's wages for a fair day's work;

All who believe in the equal right of all children in the community to its public provisions for education;

To meet in Convention at the Broadway

Miscellaneous Department.

THOMAS FULLER.

HIS WIT AND PUNS.

FULLER must have been an inveterate punster, and though he could not plead intellectual poverty for descending to this lowest kind of wit, yet he was not so scrupulous as to neglect it when it came in his way. Rarely indeed would the joke be turned upon him; though when it was, he enjoyed it as much as if another had been the victim. It is said that he once travelled with a friend by the name of Sparrowhawk, and could not but ask him joocosely the difference between an Owl and a Sparrowhawk. The difference is very great, replied his companion, eyeing his corpulent person with a smile; for it is Fuller in the bead; Fuller in the body, and Fuller all over. Fuller's works are often full of the overflowing humour of what his conversation is described to have been. Alliteration and play on words are frequent tricks of his pen. A certain Robert was chosen Archbishop after Thomas A. Becket, but declined the office, says Fuller, "lest succeeding to his chair, he should succeed to his coffin, and preferred a *whole* skin before a *holy* pall." He plays on the word cardinals (from *Cardo*, a hinge), they must be greased with English revenues." Some of the Oxford students anticipating the succession of Queen Mary, "were so desirous to worship the rising sun, that to make sure work, they will adore the dawning day, and many of them thought *Prolepsis* the best figure in their grammer to foresee what the Queen would have done, and so ingratiate themselves by antedating the doing thereof." Sometimes his playful method presents the soundest sense in the most memorable way, as, they "that are quick in searching, seldom search to the quick." The wit of Fuller, however, is not seen merely in punning, it overflows through all his writings. It is enough to open them anywhere, to force us at least to receive with some degree of allowance the opinion of Coleridge which he wrote at the end of Fuller's Church History, "Next to Shakspeare, I am not certain whether Fuller, beyond all other writers, does not excite in me the sense and emotion of the marvellous." What he meant by this is explained by him elsewhere. "His wit, alike in quantity, quality, and perpetuity, surpassing that of the wittiest in a witty age, has robbed him of the praise not less due to him for an equal superiority in sound good sense and freedom of intellect." Fuller himself evidently spoke his carefully considered conviction as well as his instinctive feelings when he said, "For mine own part, I confess it no heresy to maintain a paradox in history, nor am I such an enemy to wit as not to allow it leave harmlessly to disport itself for its own content, and the delight of others."

HIS SIMILES.

It is a remark of his in a sentence illustrative of its own truth, that "reasons are the pillars of the fabric of a sermon, but similitudes are the windows that give the best lights." His fondness for this kind of lights must have made him dissatisfied with the Englishman's tax on window panes. The credit of the Romish church with its multiplicity of titular Bishops, is like the "credit of the Apothecary to have his shop full, though many outside painted pots be empty within." "Tombs," he tells us "are the clothes of the dead; and a grave is but a plain suit, and a rich monument is one embroidered." "Coyness," he remarks, "differs as much from modesty, as hemlock from parsley." Again, "crocks in glass though past mending are no greater matter, but the least flaw in a diamond is considerable." Sometimes his wit and wisdom are strikingly conjoined in his similes. "To clothe low-creeping matter with high-flown language is not fine fancy but flat foolery. It rather loads than raises a wren to fasten the feathers of an ostrich to her wings. Some men's speeches are like the mountains in Ireland, having a dirty bog in the top of them." And again he describes the self-command of the Parrians, "though malice boiled hot in their hearts, yet no scum ran over in their mouths."

HIS BEAUTIES.

Although Fuller's language is so often homely and familiar, and his figures are sometimes pushed altogether too far, treated as Frederic's memory was (according to Fuller) by Pope Honorius, "rubbed so roughly he fetched off the skin," yet we often meet with passages of chaste beauty which the most fastidious might accept. Thus speaking of Bede's inditing the last sentence of his works and then expiring, he adds, "God's children are immortal while their father hath anything for them to do on earth, and death cannot kill them till they finish their testimony, which done, like silkworms, they willingly die where their web is ended, and are comfortably entombed in their own endeavours." Describing the early monks, his language is—"As for their food, the grass was their cloth, the ground their table, herbs and roots their diet, wild fruits and berries their dainties, hunger their sauce, their nails their knives, their hands their cups, the next well their wine-cellar, but what their bill of fare wanted in cheer it had in grace." How admirable his description of the "fort" of a pious soul! "None flitter to go to war than those who have made their peace with God in Christ, for such a man's soul is an impregnable fort. It cannot be scaled with ladders, for it reacheth up to heaven; nor be broken by batteries, for it is walled with brass; nor undermined by pinneers, for it is founded on a rock; nor betrayed by treason, for faith itself keeps it; nor be burned by granadoes, for he can quench all the fiery darts of the devil; nor be forced by famine, for a good conscience is a continual feast." His description of fancy is aided by his own. "It digs without spade, sails without ship, flies without wings, builds without charges, fights without bloodshed, in a moment striding from the centre to the circumference of the world, by a kind of omnipotency creating and annihilating things in an instant, and things divorced in nature are married in fancy as in a lawful place." The beauty is equal to the truth of his maxim sentence. "The same counsels observed are claims to grace, which neglected prove halters to strangle" the undutiful child.

HIS GOOD SENSE AND MEMORY.

In the literary point of view, Fuller is the wonder of his age. His writings divided up might suffice to establish the fame of a score of modern authors for wit and wisdom. The sentence of Coleridge is not extravagant. "Wit was the stuff and substance of Fuller's intellect, the element, the earthen vase, the material which he worked in. This very substance has defrauded him of his praise for the practical wisdom of the thought, for the beauty and variety of the truths into which he shaped the stuff. Fuller was incomparably the most sensible, the least prejudiced great man of an age that boasted a galaxy of great men. He is a very voluminous writer, and yet, in all his numerous volumes on so many different subjects, it is scarce too much to say that you will hardly find a page in which some one sentence out of every three, does not deserve to be quoted for itself as a motto or a maxim."

His memory, certainly, is as wonderful as his wit. Strange stories are told of it. All that he had ever read, or heard, or seen, seems to come back at once, when the occasion required, to do him service. Some humorous anecdote or amusing incident is ever dropping from his pen. His storehouse of memory, though full as "old Father Time's huge dray-net," as described by Milton, of all manner of things, is more accessible, and yields up its treasure at a moment's notice. Doubtless he had practiced on his own maxims. "If you desire to remember well," he says, "marshal thy notions in a handsome method. One will carry twice more weight trussed and packed up in bundles, than when it lies untowardly, flapping and hanging about his shoulders." But a good story of wit comes up, in connection with his memory. The "Triers" who examined him desired him, it is said, to give them some proof of his extraordinary memory. Upon this, he promised them "if they would restore a poor sequestered minister, never to forget that kindness as long as he lived."

HIS CHARACTER.

Fuller's character is best seen in his works. That with all the grotesqueness of his wit, and the facetiousness of his conversation, he was a truly pious man, we cannot doubt. His fairness, as a historian, has exposed him to the charge brought against him by his High Church brethren of "truckling to the times." But many an incident of his life assures us that in his character of "the hypocrite," where he tells us that "painted faces cannot abide the fire," he has not played the hypocrite himself. Never was there a man who more thoroughly scorned all disguise. He makes no secret of his own views, and with singular fidelity, he holds them in entire independence of the two great parties into which England was then rent. As to the Royalists, he was a modern Episcopalian. As to the Puritans, he agreed with them mainly in doctrine, and in his aversion to the odious abuses of tyrannic power. The violence of the Star Chamber was anything but acceptable to his views and feelings. "Men's consciences," he quaintly but justly remarks, "are more moved by leading than dragging or drawing." His character of "The Tyrant" shows his sympathy for freedom and free speech. That character is seen in "Tereus," who, "after he had ravished Philomela, cut out her tongue."

His heart was ever open alike to all kindly and human feelings. Neither Wilberforce nor any of his compeers could have felt a deeper detestation of the horrors of the slave trade than what Fuller has expressed in his character of "The Good Sea Captain," who, "in taking a prize, most prizeth the men's lives whom he takes, though some of them may chance to be negroes or savages. 'Tis the custom of some to cast them overboard, and there's an end of them, for the dumb fishes will tell no tales. But the murderer is not so soon drowned as the men. What! is a brother by half-blood no kin? A savage had God for his Father by creation, though not the Church to his mother, and God will avenge his innocent blood. But our Captain counts the image of God, nevertheless, his image, cut in ebony as if done in ivory, and in the blackest Moors he sees the representation of the God of heaven."

Of Fuller's boldness to defend what he conceived to be right and just, his life gives full proof. He dared to speak when and where he knew his words would be unwelcome, if only wholesome. Before Parliament he pleaded the cause of peace, and the Royalists of Oxford found him "puritanically" impracticable. Undoubtedly he sought to exemplify his own character of "The Faithful Minister." "He humours them not in his doctrine to get their love, for such a spaniel is worse than a dumb dog. He shall sooner get their good will by walking uprightly, than by crouching and creeping."

Fuller's general views and opinions were more than usually liberal and intelligent for his age. For astrologers, like the famous Lilly, he could not contain his contempt. His belief in witches was far below the Orthodox standard. To the opinion that the king's evil may be cured by the royal touch, he gives indeed his acquiescence. Episcopal government he approved, but Episcopal official sanctity, or infallibility, received from him no blind reverence. He loved good men everywhere. Often he leans strongly to the side of the Puritans, and approves the justice of their complaints. Doctrinal differences weighed little with him. Archbishop Usher, "the Cape merchant of learning," as Fuller calls him, and John Howe, the Protector's chaplain, were alike his friends. Free from all bigotry, all envy, and malice, he loved to recognise worth and merit everywhere.—*Evangelist.*

SUMMER'S BREATH.

SWEET breath of Summer time!
Of fragrant blossoms, and of scented hay—
Of blossoms bending where soft rain-drops chime,
A measured roundelay.

Sweet breath of Summer time!
Where the wind through the brier roves about—
Through southern vines that upward daily climb,
And all their sweets pour out.

The heavy laden air,
Droppeth its perfumed burden all around,
As happy souls the blessedness would share,
Wherewith they do abound.

Seeming the smile of God,
The sunshine falleth o'er the green-clad earth,
And like a hidden army from the sod,
A myriad of flowers have birth.

And dancing with the wind,
Shake out their scented garments in the breeze,
Their flowery robes, the ever graceful trees,
The fickle gales to bind.

Sweet breath of Summer time!
Of fragrant blossoms and of scented hay—
Of blossoms bending where soft rain-drops chime
A liquid roundelay.

CURIOSITIES OF THUNDER STORMS.

THE peculiarities of that terrible but mysterious agent, lightning, are made the subject of an interesting article in a recent number of the *British Quarterly Review*, from which we condense some of the most prominent facts. Two clouds are not necessary for the production of lightning, which is frequently discharged from a solitary clump of vapor, when a connection can be established with the earth. A French Academician, named Marcolle, describes a case where a mere cloudlet, about a foot and a half in diameter, killed a poor woman by dropping a thunderbolt upon her head. It has been shown by Faraday, that the electric fluid contained in a single flash, might, perhaps, be supplied by the decomposition of one grain of water alone. M. Arago has divided the lightning into three sorts. The first includes those where the discharge appears like long, luminous lines, bent into angles and zigzags, and varying in complexion from white to blue, purple or red. This kind is known as forked lightning, because it occasionally divides into two branches. Charpentier relates a case where a flash severed into three forks, each of which struck on points several hundred feet apart. Still more numerous furcations have been reported, for it is said that during a tempest at Landerneau and St. Pol de Leon, twenty-four churches were struck, though only three distinct claps were heard. This was eight churches apiece for the three explosions!

The second class of lightning differs from the first in the range of surface over which the flash is diffused, and is designated as sheet lightning. Sometimes it simply gilds the edges of the cloud, whence it leaps; but at others it floods with a lurid radiance, or else suffuses its surface with blushes of a rosy or violet hue.

The third class of lightnings are remarkable for their eccentricities, and have been made the subject of considerable contention among meteorologists, many of whom have denied their right to be treated as legitimate lightnings, they differ so widely from the ordinary sort of flashes. They exhibit themselves as balls, or globular lumps of fire—not momentary apparations, but meteors which take their own time, and travel at a remarkably slow rate. It is this incolerity which gives them their doubtful character, as an electrical bolt is supposed to be one of the leading emblems of velocity. Among other anecdotes related of this kind of lightning, is the following incident, which occurred to a tailor in the Rue St. Jacques, Val de Grace, about the year 1843. M. Babinet was commissioned by the Academy of Sciences to investigate the facts, and reported substantially as follows:

"After a loud thunder clap, the tailor, being finishing his meal, saw the chimney-board fall down, as if overset by a slight gust of wind, and a globe of fire, the size of a child's head, come out quietly and move slowly about the room, at a small height above the floor. The tailor said it looked like a good-sized kitten, rolled up into a ball, and moving without showing its paws. It was bright and shining, but he felt no sensation of heat. The globe came near his feet, like a young cat that wants to rub itself against its masters legs; but by moving them aside gently, he avoided the contact. It appears to have played for several seconds about his feet, he bending his body over it, and examining it attentively. After trying some excursions in different directions, it arose vertically to the height of his head, which he threw back to avoid its touching his face. The globe, elongating a little, then steered towards a hole in the chimney above the mantlepiece, which hole received a stove pipe in winter, but was now pasted over with paper. 'The thunder,' he said, 'could not see the hole,' but, nevertheless, the ball went straight to the aperture, removing the paper without hurting it, and made its way into the chimney. Shortly afterwards, and when he supposed it had time to reach the top, it made a dreadful explosion, which destroyed the upper part of the chimney, and threw the fragments on the roofs of smaller buildings, which they broke through. The tailor's lodging was on the third story; the lower ones were not visited at all by the thunderbolt."

Lightning, when it meets with an obstruction in its course, frequently shatters the non-conducting object, dispersing and bursting substances asunder in every direction, as if they had been charged with gunpowder. The stone binnacle of a church in Cornwall, was struck by lightning, and one fragment weighing three hundred pounds, was hurled sixty yards to the southward, another four hundred yards to the north, and a third to the southwest. In 1838, the topgallant mast of H. M. ship Rodney was literally cut up into chips by a flash of lightning, the sea being strewn with the fragments as if the carpenters had been sweeping their shavings overboard. Sometimes, in striking a tree or mast, the electric fluid will slice it into long shreds or filaments, so that it will appear like a huge broom or a bundle of laths. Lightning bolts will occasionally dash through resisting objects by tearing great openings, as in a Cornish church, where apertures were made in the solid wall of the belfry fourteen inches square and six inches deep, and as truly regular as if cut out by art. In other instances, small holes are drilled which are surprising for their perfect circularity of form. Window panes have been frequently pierced in this fashion, without affecting the rest of the glass. In forming these apertures, a burr or projection is left upon the edges. Juvenile electricians are in the habit of making holes in cards by passing discharges through them, when a burr or projection will be observed on both sides of the orifice. Sometimes a single discharge will produce two holes in a card, each puncture marked by a single burr, one on the upper and the other on the under side of the card. In some instances the results are such as to suggest that a flash may be split up into several fiery filaments before it strikes an object. In 1777, a weather-cock of tinned copper was hurled by a thunderbolt from the top of a church in Cremons, and, upon inspection, was found to be pierced with eighteen holes; in nine of them the burr was conspicuous on one side, and in nine it was equally conspicuous on the other, while the slope of the burr was identical in all.

Among the curiosities of lightning are what is termed "fulgurites," or tubes, which lightning constructs when it falls upon a silliceous spot, by raising the sand. They may be called casts of thunderbolts. In some hillocks of sand in Cumberland, England, these hollow tubes have been found from one-fiftieth to two inches in diameter, tapering perhaps to a mere point. The entire extent of the tubes may be thirty feet, but they usually separate into numerous branches, and have the appearance of the skeleton of an inverted tree. They are lined with glass, as smooth and perfect as if it had been made in a glass house.

Lightning will also vitrify the surface of rocks, and fuse metals. In 1827, several links of the iron cable of an American packet ship were melted, and the glowing drops, falling upon the deck, set fire to everything they touched. It would seem, too, that lightning can liquify metals without harming or even singing more fragile materials connected with them. Aristotle says that copper has been melted off a shield without injuring the wood, and hence affirms that money has been fused in a purse without burning the latter. It is a capricious meteor, and the pranks it plays are sometimes perfectly inexplicable. A man in Cornwall was once struck by a bolt, which burnt the sleeve of his shirt and also of his coat to tinder, without frizzling, or even damaging the outside of his coat in the least! Balls of electrical fluid, capable of firing combustible objects, have been seen to issue from the sea, or to drop into sheets of water without producing any hissing sound, or occasioning any symptoms of ebullition.

As illustrative of the power of lightning to magnetize metals, it is related by Arago, that the tools of a shoemaker in Swabia were thus treated, and he had to be constantly freeing his hammer, pincers and knife from the nails, needles and awls, which were constantly getting caught by them, as they lay upon the bench. Nearly two centuries ago, a couple of English ships were sailing from London to Barbadoes. One of them was struck by lightning, and suddenly the Captain of the suffering ship was observed to alter his course and turn his prow, as if making for England again. His consort inquired the reason, but found that the crew were still proceeding to Barbadoes, as they firmly believed. A careful inspection showed that the poles of the compasses had been completely reversed by the lightning.

HOT CROSS BUNS.

WE lie awake early upon Good Friday morning, and listen to the London bells, and the wagons coming rumbling in from the country to Covent Garden; and not the least pleasant sound, pleasant for its old recollections, is the time-honoured old cry of "Hot Cross Buns." Century after century passes by, and those who busily drove their carts day after day from Ewham or Blackheath, or Richmond, one hundred years ago, are as still and silent as if they had never been; yet still, Passion-week after Passion-week, comes that old cry, nobody knows how old, "Hot Cross Buns, Hot Cross Buns." And as we lie, we think how perhaps Pope, as he lay in Holywell Street, and Addison and Johnson, and, before their time, Waller, at the house of his old friend the merchant of St. Giles, and the goodly company of the poets that lived at the cost of the king near Whitehall, each in their turn were awakened on the Good Friday morning by the same sound ringing in their ears. For this is a custom which can hardly be traced to a beginning: and all we know about it is, that as far as we can go back, the Good Friday was ushered in by the old Good Friday bun; and that the baker in the towns, and the old good wife in the country, would have thought the day but badly kept, and augured badly for the coming Summer's luck, without it.

Ay, you may well ask what is the origin of the Hot Cross Bun? Is it a Christian custom, as the name seems to imply, leading our thoughts to the great sacrifice that day performed upon Calvary? Or can we trace it even further back, to the dim and dark ages of antiquity, and find in this little bun a relic of times now almost effaced from the memory of men? The antiquarian tells us of an old king of Attica, Cecrops by name, who, more than three thousand years ago, offered up, upon the altar of his gods, the sacred bread of fine flour and of honey, and called it *βοὺς*, from the two horns of the victim ox which were fashioned upon it. Others have transcribed curious legends of the priests of Egypt, long before history began, deciphered from old monuments and weird sculptures, and show us the sacrifices of wheaten cakes covered with the image of the Egyptian god Apis, living in the stone and imperishable. Six hundred years before the coming of our Lord, the prophet Jeremiah denounces the Jewish women of Pathos, who, forsaking the God of their fathers, offered up *cakes* to the moon—the queen of the shining sky. (Jeremiah xliv. 19.)

As far as we can find out, among the Greeks, from the earliest period, it has been the custom to mark their oaten cakes with crosses—why, we cannot tell. Some even think that "quadra," a kind of Roman bun, is so called from its being marked with four distinct lines. The most probable reason which can be given for the use of the figure of a cross is, that it might more readily be broken. Travellers in Italy who visit Pompeii may see, upon application to the British consul, one or two loaves marked in this manner, which were discovered in an ancient bakehouse. Pottinger's "Herculanean Researches" make mention of some curious buns at Herculaneum also, about half a foot in diameter, with two crosses, one within the other.

But amongst Christians, this figure of the cross would receive a higher and a holier significance; and as years roll on we find the church of Rome adopting indeed the symbols of the bun and cross for herself, but with a more appropriate and religious meaning. Bread of this kind was distributed, and is still distributed at St. Peter's, to the poor, through the whole of the Passion-week. In England it was for a long time given as alms during Lent as well; and those who were unable from bodily infirmity to attend the celebration of the mass, and to partake of the consecrated wafer, had sent to them buns of this nature as their portion from the feast. They were made from the same dough as the host, and given to the people by the priests, after the last Kyrie Eleison in the Easter Sunday services. And the faithful marked their reverence by kissing it before it was broken. Bishop Latimer probably alludes to this, in his sermon in which he speaks of "the mummeries and crossings, from which the holy bread is not exempt."

Thus, then, the bread of the heathen was by the Christians especially dedicated to the anniversary of our Lord's atonement, as being calculated by its very form to remind them more closely of that solemn event. And this is one of the few popular traces which are now left, reminding us that long ago this country belonged to the religion of Rome. That church, from the fourth century downwards, has always distinguished herself by an attachment to the symbol of the cross; and it is probable that, but for her, the old pagan sign, which is at best but a coincidence, would have been allowed to fall into desuetude.

In M. Regel's "Curiosities of Saxon Antiquity," the student will find some drawings of old English loaves. Among them is a holy bun, which perhaps may be connected with the Hot Cross Bun. Around its margin are the three letters I. H. S.

The only diff rence which would distinguish them from other buns is a flavour of allspice.

There are many very extraordinary superstitions which are connected with the custom of Hot Cross Buns. In some countries a Good Friday bun is kept for luck, and from the ceiling in many a cottage in Wales you will see suspended, from Good Friday to Good Friday, a kind of buiscuit or cake, which is supposed to be a charm against fire. This is something akin to the old Devonshire rhyme, which is said still to be found extant on the borders of Cornwall—"Save the cake, save the rick."

Great care is generally taken by the poor to preserve one or more of these buns. When dry, and grated, they are esteemed an infallible cure for many diseases. Catalepsy in particular is supposed to be especially amenable to their virtue. We once met a lady, who herself mentioned the fact, that in her younger days, which were spent in Normandy, it was the custom of the mistress of the house to offer to every one, on Good Friday morning, a bun and a piece of silver; and to lose either during the ensuing year was considered unfortunate both for the giver and the receiver. It is possible that the bun, which the natives of Saxony and Wurtemburg lay upon the grave of parents and kinsmen, is something of the kind. A curious circumstance, however, connected with the latter custom, is, that it is unusual to place the cake upon the tombs of very young children: whereas in the history of the English bun, it is children that play the most conspicuous part.

In Spain, especially in the mountainous districts, it is not uncommon to find the loaves marked with a cross. It is, however, denied by travellers of experience that this cross is in the slightest degree connected with the Good Friday bun. Probably the same significance or religious import is attached to it as in the case of Spanish books, which are generally, though not by any means universally, distinguished by a cross in the frontispiece. We believe that it is the practice of that government to mark with a similar figure all government property, in the same way as the English government uses the arrow-head.

A curious history! Originally a heathen offering; then adopted by Christians, who discovered in its distinguished token a mystical meaning which it did not bear; this bun has travelled down from age to age, perpetuated by a mistake. There are few English towns where it is not known: yet how few among us think that this little piece of bread with its four lines has survived the fall of dynasties, and has been left untouched amidst the ruins of the Romish church. Mention of it is to be found in the earliest uninspired history to which research has guided us; and here it is, a modern and insignificant custom, which one would imagine a few years would be sufficient to dispel.

And so, awaking in the early morning, we hear the streets ringing with the cry, "Hot Cross Buns." And perhaps when all that we have wrought shall be forgotten, when our name shall be as though it had been written on water, and many institutions great and noble shall have perished, this little bun will live on unharmed. Others, as well as ourselves, will, it may be, lie awake upon their beds, and listen to the murmurs going to and fro within the great heart of London, and, thinking on the half-forgotten days of the nineteenth century, wonder perhaps whether, in these olden times, we too heard the sound of "Hot Cross Buns."—*Leisure Hour.*

THE ORIGIN OF THE STORY OF PAUL AND VIRGINIA.

IT is not to be supposed that among those who read at all, there are many who are unacquainted with the beautiful story of Paul and Virginia, by Bernardin St. Pierre. The accomplished author was an officer of the garrison of Mauritius in 1744, and at that time a melancholy catastrophe which happened on one of the coral reefs surrounding the island furnished a basis of facts on which he reared his interesting fiction.

One is rather reluctant to destroy the illusion produced by the romantic narrative of St. Pierre; but in truth, he was indebted to his imagination for the picture of the storm—and the brave and generous Paul is but a myth.

The facts are these: On the night of the 18th of August, 1744, the French ship St. Givan was wrecked on one of the reefs of the north-eastern coast of the island. On board of the ship were two young ladies, by name Mallet and Caillon (who were returning from France, whither they had been sent for education), both of whom were lost.

The depositions taken at the time by the French officials, and from which these facts were gathered, state that Mademoiselle Caillon was last seen upon the top-gallant forecastle of the wrecked vessel, with a gentleman, Monsieur Longchamps de Montendse, who was at the time endeavouring to persuade her to trust herself to his efforts to save her. To enable him to accomplish the object, it was necessary for her to disencumber herself of some portion of her clothing, and this from a sense of modesty she declined doing, and so perished with Monsieur Montendse and the larger part of the crew of the ill-fated vessel. It was conjectured that Monsieur Montendse was the lover of Mademoiselle Caillon, as, after lowering himself down the ship's side and throwing himself into the sea, he returned and earnestly endeavoured to prevail on the young lady to leave the vessel with him, and on her refusal would not leave her again.

Mademoiselle Mallet was on the quarter-deck with Monsieur de Peramont, who never left her for a moment. On these facts as a basis St. Pierre framed his story.

The celebrity given to it has always awakened the interest of strangers visiting the island, who have naturally desired to look upon scenes consecrated by the pen of genius, and associated in their minds with incidents which, if not literally true have at least deeply touched their sensibilities. The officers of the ship were, therefore, glad to land, and among other objects visited, strange to say, they were conducted to what the islanders are pleased to call the graves of Paul and Virginia.

The history of these resting places of the imaginary dead is this: An eccentric French gentleman having a country residence about eight miles from St. Louis, and possibly near the supposed graves of the lost, erected in his garden two monuments to the memory of the unfortunate fictitious Paul and Virginia (Mademoiselle Caillon and Monsieur Montendse).—"*Expedition to Japan.*"

THE NIGHTINGALE'S RETURN.

MOST blessed things come silently, and silently depart;
Noiseless steals Spring-time on the year, and comfort on the heart;
And still, and light, and gentle, like a dew, the rain must be,
To quicken seed in furrow and blossom upon tree.

Nile has its foaming rapids, freshets from mountain snows;
But where his stream breeds fruitfulness, serene and calm it flows;
And when he over-brims, to cheer his banks on either side,
You scarce can mark, so gradual, the swelling of his tide.

The wings of angels make no stir, as they ply their works of love;
But by the balm they shed around, we know them that they move.

God spake not in the thunder, nor the mighty rushing blast;
His utterance was in the still small voice, that came at last.

So she, our sweet Saint Florence, modest, and still and calm,
With no parade of martyr's cross, no pomp of martyr's palm,
To the place of plague and famine, foulness, and wounds, and pain,
Went out upon her gracious toil, and so returns again.

No shouting crowds about her path, no multitudes hot breath,
To feed with wind of vanity the doubtful fires of faith;
Her paths by hands official all unsmoothed, her aims decried
By the Levites who, when need was, passed on the other side.

When titles, pensions, orders, with random hand are showered,
'Tis well that, save with blessings, she still should walk undowered.

What title like her own sweet name, with the music all its own?
What order like the halo by her good deeds round her thrown.

Like her own bird—all voiceless while the daylight songsters trill,
Sweet singer in the darkness, when all songs else are still—
She on that night of suffering that chilled other hearts to stone,
Came with soft step and gentle speech, yet wise and firm of tone.

Think of the prayers for her, that to the praying heart came back,
In rain of blessings, seeming still to spring upon her track;
The comfort of her graciousness to those whose road to death
Was dark and doubtful, till she showed the light of love and faith.

Then leave her to the quiet she has chosen; she demands
No greeting from our brazen throats and vulgar clapping hands.
Leave her to the still comfort the saints know that have striven.
What are our earthly honours? Her honours are in heaven.

—*Punch.*

WHITE SLAVERY IN SCOTLAND.

LORD COCKBURN, in the "Memorials of his Times," recently published, speaks thus of the white slavery that prevailed until 1799, in Scotland:

"There are few people who know how that so recently as 1799, there were slaves in this country. Twenty-five years before, that is, in 1775, there must have been thousands of them—for this was then the condition of all our colliers and salters. They were literally slaves. They could not be killed or directly tortured; but they belonged, the serfs of an olden time, to their respective works, with which they were sold as a part of the gearing. With a few very rigid exceptions, the condition of the head of the family was the condition of the whole house. For though a child, *if never entered* with the work, was free, yet entering was its natural and almost certain destination; for its doing so was valuable to its father, and its getting into any other employment in the neighbourhood was resisted by the owner. So that wives, daughters and sons went on from generation to generation under the system which was the family doom. Of course, it was the interest of a wise master to use them well, as it was to use his other cattle well. But, as usual, the human animal had the worst of it. It had rights, and could provoke by alluding to them. It could alarm and mutiny. It could not be slain, but it had no protection against fits of tyranny or anger.

"We do not know much of their exact personal or domestic condition. But we know what their work makes them even when they are free, and within the jealous benevolence of a softer age. We know that they formed a separate and avoided tribe, as to a great extent they still do, with a language and habits of their own. And we know what slavery, even in its best form, is, and does. The completeness of their degradation is disclosed by one public fact. The statute of 1701, which has been extolled as the Scotch *habeas corpus*, proceeds on the preamble that 'Our sovereign lord considering it is the interest of all his good subjects that the liberty of their persons be duly secured.' Yet while introducing resolutions against 'wrongous imprisonment, and undue delays in trials,' the statute contains these words—'And sichlike it is hereby provided and declared that this present act is no ways to be extended to colliers or salters.' That is, being slaves, they had no personal liberty to protect.

"These facts enable us to understand the hereditary blackguardism which formed the nature of these fixed, underground gipsies, and the mysterious horror with which they were regarded, and which, in a certain degree, attached to all subterranean labourers.

"The first link of their chain was broken in 1775, by the 15th Act of George III., chapter 28. It sets out on the preamble that 'many colliers and salters are in a state of slavery and bondage.' It emancipates *future* ones entirely, that is, those who, after the 1st of July, 1775, 'shall begin to work as colliers and salters.' But the existing ones were only liberated gradually; those under twenty-one in seven years; those between twenty-one and thirty in seven years; those between thirty-one and thirty-five in ten years. The liberation of the father was declared to liberate his family. And the freed were put under the act of 1701. But this measure, though effective in checking new slavery, was made very nearly useless in its application to the existing slaves by one of its conditions. Instead of becoming free by mere lapse of time, no slave obtained his liberty unless he instituted a legal proceeding in the Sheriff's Court, and incurred all the cost, delay and trouble of a law suit; his capacity to do which was extinguished by the invariable system of masters having their workmen in their debt. The result was that in general the existing slave was only liberated by death.

"But this last link was broken in June, 1779, by the 39th George III., chapter 56, which enacted that from and after its date 'all the colliers in Scotland, who were bound colliers at the passing of the 15th George III., chapter 28, shall be freed from their servitude.' This annihilated the relic."

JOHN RANDOLPH TO WILLIAM GIBBONS.

From Friends' Review.

(PUBLISHED FROM THE ORIGINAL.)

WASHINGTON, February 4, 1820.

RESPECTED FRIEND: Although I can hardly see a word that I write, I cannot refrain from entreating that you would suspend any opinion—not on what is called the Missouri question, but on the nature of my views upon it—until you can obtain full and authentic information respecting them. Suffice it to say that they flow from no avowed or dissembled wish to extend or promote slavery in this already sufficiently miserable world of ours; although we are daily adding to its wretchedness by a want of forbearance and charity to one another. My respect for the whole body of your Society, my veneration for the name and character of William Penn, and, above all, my desire not to forfeit—unless I should deserve it—the place which you have been kind enough to allow me in your good opinion, induce me to caution you on this head. Of the sincerity and consistency of Friends, who *act* up to their profession,* I have never expressed or entertained a doubt. That there are thousands of others of the various sects equally sincere and upright, I am not less persuaded; and this I *know*, that there are great proprietors in Virginia, who, with hundreds of slaves and thousands of acres of rich land, are but Trustees for their slaves—receiving for themselves a niggardly support. These are ready to offer their hecatombs of human victims on the altar of the Lamb, as soon as by their dispersion it may be done with safety. They wish to dilute the poison instead of taking it in its most concentrated form. They assisted by their counsel and their treasure to acquire Louisiana, and they deem any regulation *unjust* that excludes them from it. It is their property equally with their fellows. They judge no man.

"For neither man nor angel can discern
Hypocrisy, the only evil that walks
Unseen, except to God alone,
By his permissive will."

But when they see men of inordinate ambition, who never before stuck at anything to gratify their lust of power and wealth; the most notorious votaries of mammon; the most unblushing sons of corruption, pretending to identify themselves with the followers of the meek and lowly Jesus, they may, perhaps, not be considered as sinning beyond forgiveness if they expose the imposture, and deter those who are dead to all good motive, by that of fear of punishment.

On this subject I would give a great deal to have a free conversation with you. Some tell me I have offended friend Forrest. I shall consider myself to be extremely unfortunate if this be true, as I fear it is. For, as I told him on the floor of Congress, I am more afraid of offending him in his present garb, than if he had an epaulette on each shoulder and was at the head of his regiment.

With unfeigned respect and regard, and as sincere a deprecation of the extension of slavery and its horrors, as any other man, be him whom he may, I am your friend, in the literal sense of that much abused word. I say much abused, because it is applied to the leagues of vice, avarice and ambition, instead of good will toward man from love of Him who is the Prince of Peace.

JOHN RANDOLPH, of Roanoke.

*I judge them by their fruit,

Gleanings from Foreign Publications.

It is said that the Congress at Paris was cheated by the production of a spurious map of Bessarabia.

——Mrs. Charles Mathews, better known as Madame Vestris—a prominent member of the English stage—died at Grove Lodge, Fulham, on the 16th ult. She was 59 years of age.

——The will of Mr. Samuel Gurney, the late eminent banker and bill broker of Lombard street, has been proved under £800,000. The probate duty payable on this sum to the government is £10,500. The deceased left a large landed property beside.

——Cowper's famous panegyric on tea—"the cup that cheers, but not inebriates," is not original. A correspondent of *Notes and Queries* points out the same expression in Berkeley's "Sirris," written forty years previous to Cowper's "Task." The bishop says that the native balsam of pines and fire is of a nature so mild and benign, as to "warm without heating, to cheer but not inebriate, and to produce a calm and steady joy, like the effect of good news."

——RETURN OF MISS NIGHTINGALE.—We (*Globe*) are happy to be enabled to announce that Miss Florence Nightingale has arrived at her home in Derbyshire, after her arduous and honourable career of public service in the East. Miss Nightingale sedulously avoided that public welcome which would have greeted her had the day or place of her landing in England been made known. She is not less conscious, we trust, of the "honour, love, obedience, troops of friends," which accompany her presence and wait upon her future career.

——Miss Nightingale, desirous of preserving the strictest *incognito*, refused the offer of a passage on board of a British man-of-war, and embarked in a French vessel, passing through France by night, and travelled through this country without being recognised to the station nearest her own residence, where she arrived on Friday last. There, however, on the platform, she was met and greeted by Lady Auckland. Miss Nightingale, we regret to add, is suffering from the effects of her long and arduous self-devotion to the cause for which she has made such unparalleled exertions.

——Prince Alexander Labanoff, of St. Petersburg, is such an intense admirer of the unfortunate Mary Stuart, that he has passed great part of his life in studying her history, and in collecting materials connected with it. About twelve years ago he published seven volumes of her letters, and recently he has bought out a Notice, in 226 pages, of the numerous portraits of her which he possesses, and which he has got together after infinite pains and expense. These portraits are 136 in number, namely, 12 paintings, and 144 lithographs or engravings. He also possesses 29 engravings of events in which the Queen figured, and a great many portraits of her contemporary statesmen and sovereigns.—*Literary Gazette.*

——"The plaint of M. Alexander Dumas, it is announced," writes the Paris correspondent of *La Nord*, "will come on shortly for hearing. He claims it is said, the sum of 800,000 francs as damages, with interest, for the unlawful publication of his works. A revolution is brewing in the financial situation of this celebrated writer, who has had the good luck to fall in with a very clever man of business. The latter has discovered that considerable sums were due to the illustrious author, and as agent has offered to take his affair in hand, and collect on a commission of 10 per cent. whatever moneys may be procurable. It would appear that this practitioner intends metamorphozing the house of Dumas into a regular California, from which the author of the 'Mousquetaries' will come forth once more as Monte Christo."

——THE O'CONNELL FAMILY.—The pleasant appointment of Clerk of the Hanaper in Ireland, vacated by the death of Mr. C. Fitzsimon, has been conferred upon Mr. John O'Connell, M.P., brother-in-law of the last possessor of the office. The late Mr. Daniel O'Connell died without making any provision for three of his sons. The eldest (now also no more) inherited a small portion only of the family estates, the remainder and more valuable part being held under a lease which expired at the death of Mr. O'Connell in 1847. One of his sons holds a lucrative post as the head of the Registry of Deeds-office, but his acceptance of the place was in direct opposition to the wishes of his father. Mr. John O'Connell has for years past abandoned his old courses, and forsworn agitation in every shape.

——The Chartist cause is in a very disorganized state just now. Many of the leaders have undergone dreadful vicissitudes. Feargus O'Conner died a pauper and insane. John Frost underwent fourteen years' transportation, and is now about to commence lecturing to obtain a livelihood. Dr. M'Douall, one of the most intelligent of the party, was committed to jail, fell in love with the jailor's daughter and married her. Upon his release, being utterly unable to obtain a livelihood, he went to Australia, where he died. His wife and children have returned home, and are now in the workhouse. Bronterre O'Brien is in a state of deep distress. Earnest Jones struggles to carry on the *People's Paper*, from the columns of which we learn that the whole weekly revenue of the Chartist movement amounts to some six or seven shillings; it once amounted to several hundreds of pounds.

——A NAME.—The Woods of Lancashire are a distinguished family for character, wealth and talent; the eldest son, John Wood, has been returned member of Parliament for Preston, several times, and proved himself a steady supporter of civil and religious liberty. A laughable circumstance once took place upon a trial in Lancashire, where the head of the family, Mr. Wood, Senior, was examined as a witness. Upon giving his name, Otiwell Wood, the Judge, addressing the reverend person said, "Pray, Mr. Wood,